Strawberry Research

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JAMS

My dad (1945) with the 442 RCT and got the purple heart and bronze star. I was in awe of him because, to me, he was a war hero. I remember wishing he hadn't taken off his uniform when we took the picture

The JAMSJ Mission

The Japanese American Muse
of San Jose (JAMSJ) collects,
preserves, and disseminates th
culture and history of Japanes
Americans in the Santa Clara

Funding for this site has been provided by the California Civil Liberties Public Education Program, California State Library.

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Mission
The Japanese American Museum of San Jose (JAMsj) preserves and disseminates the culture and history of Japanese Americans, with a special focus on the Santa Clara Valley.

History
Established in November of 1987, JAMsj grew out of a 1984-86 research project on Japanese American farmers in the Santa Clara Valley. The farming project collected family histories, historical photographs, private memoirs and other unpublished documents and led to the development of a curriculum package on Japanese American history, which was adopted for use by the San Jose Unified and Eastside Union High School Districts. JAMsj's workshop on developing family histories provided documentary materials and photos included in the award-winning book Japanese Legacy: Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Valley (1985) co-authored by Timothy J. Lukes, Ph.D. and Gary Y. Okihiro, Ph.D.

With the help and support of the Japanese American Citizens League, San Jose Chapter, the museum started in an upstairs room of the historic Issei Memorial Building, formerly the Kuwabara Hospital. In 2002, the name changed from Japanese American Resource Center/Museum (JARC/M) to Japanese American Museum of San Jose (JAMsj) to better reflect the museum's archival focus. JAMsj now occupies the former residence of Tokio Ishikawa, M.D. two doors south on North Fifth Street.

Grants
JAMsj has received grants from the California Civil Liberties Public Education Project (CCLPEP) and the Takahashi Foundation. The REgenerations oral history project and the "Completing the Story" resettlement exhibit were both made possible by CCLPEP grants. The Takahashi Foundation is currently providing funds for JAMsj to digitize its extensive photographic archive.

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Japanese Legacy

Timothy J. Lukes
and Gary Y. Okihiro

Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Valley

TO THE SANTA CLARA COUNTY HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

NORM MINETA,
MEMBER OF CONGRESS

JULY 11, 1986

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1890 and 1892. These items focused on the activities of Congress in extending the life of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act for another ten years, and on Chinese illegal entries.[26]

The Orchard Phase

J.J. Owen was not the only source of pressure to open the valley to new sources of prosperity. As early as 1857, one could find growing in the county 35,000 apple, 25,000 peach, 6,000 pear, 1,300 cherry, and 5,600 fruit trees of other varieties. For the most part, these trees represented an experimental or diversionary sidelight for those who grew them.[27] It was becoming increasingly clear, though, that the soil and climate of the Santa Clara Valley were being squandered on grain crops and livestock that could prosper in less favorable terrain.

And, of course, the railroad opened the possibility of distant markets, especially for the French prune that had been brought to the valley by the Pellier brothers. (Indeed, in recounting the preconditions to the orchard phase, no small contribution would be the expertise of the southern European farmers who had come to the valley, and who recognized its potential as a fruit-growing region.) Apples, whose durability was a major advantage, gave way to the more luxurious dried fruits, and by 1874, San Jose could boast a modern drying plant, the Alden Fruit and Vegetable Preserving Company. In 1876, the firm shipped fifteen tons of dried fruit — only a part of what was to follow.

There were also the successful experiments with canning methods. Dr. James Dawson's famous cookstove preserved 350 cases of fruit in 1871, and by the following year the family had established its orchard cannery at Twenty-First and Julian Streets, and was able to triple its output. Within the next decade, dozens of small canneries were scattered throughout the valley, as the future of the industry looked ever more secure.[28]

Another major factor contributed to the transition to orchards — the abundant and accessible water supply available to the orchardist. Unlike conditions in the central valley, where the difficulty of maintaining sources of irrigation necessitated the continuance of large ventures, a generous water table was at the disposal of Santa Clara Valley orchardists. Thus, it was relatively easy for an investor with modest capital to enter the fruit-growing business. Also, because the orchards did not demand year-round attention, they could maintain alternate employment in the off-season.

	Less Than 100 Acres	More Than 100 Acres
1880	721	771
1890	1,427	750
1900	3,057	938
1910	3,096	825
1920	4,390	626
1930	5,616	621

Table 1. Number of Farms in Santa Clara County (by Size), 1880-1930.

That these middle class entrepreneurs entered what had for so long been an agricultural venue reserved for gold rush aristocrats is illustrated by the preceeding table. Although many large

enterprises remained, there was a remarkable eightfold increase of smaller operations between 1880 and 1930, with the decade between 1890 and 1900 showing the most dramatic increase.[29]

That this transition to smaller operations was instigated by the shift to fruits and away from grains, is no better illustrated than by the following table. The difference in yields between 1899 and 1909 is astonishing proof of the expeditiousness with which fruit orchards supplanted the less-intensive grain farms.[30]

	Wheat	Barley	Oats
1859	549,195	116,207	17,960
1869	1,188,137	405,575	15,134
1879	648,055	716,860	4,771
1889	282,536	589,303	2,000
1899	175,230	1,392,430	51,048
1909	10,198	200,893	9,424
1919	22,199	85,672	8,123
1929	24,844	51,305	1,322

Table 2. Grain Production in Santa Clara County (in Bushels), 1859-1929.

Maturity of the Orchard Phase

Three major obstacles confronted the full development of the fruit industry as it approached the twentieth century. The first was the under-capitalization of the small canning ventures. It was an excruciating wait from the time that major overhead expenses were incurred and the time payment was received for the pack. Because the canners were so extended by the end of the season, it was often necessary for them to direct their commission agents to dispose of the pack within a few weeks, selling an entire year's stock to their customers. Often, this meant liquidation at any price, and undercutting frequently occurred.

The second obstacle was that at the turn of the century, the idea of putting fruit in cans was alien to most Americans. It was clear to the canners that if they could overcome this barrier, sales would rise exponentially.

The third obstacle to the full development of the fruit industry had to do with the availability of cheap labor. Through the 1870s, the Chinese were crucial to the embryonic fruit industry. Historian Sucheng Chan has estimated, based on the manuscript census, that in the peak harvest season of 1880, 48.2 percent of farm labor in Santa Clara County was performed by Chinese workers.[31] With the victory of the anti-Chinese movement and the passage of the Exclusion Law of 1882, this labor supply was sharply curtailed; thus, it is no surprise that immediately following Chinese exclusion, local fruit growers formed a number of organizations to explore and promote the availability of minority labor sources.[32] The Japanese arrived soon thereafter to what seemed to be the open arms of valley residents,[33] and the new fruit-growing, canning, and peripheral concerns adopted postures and policies that would not make it so easy for extremists to remove their new labor supply. That does not mean, however, that these progressives did not also support measures which rendered that labor supply ever vulnerable to, and ever fearful of, intimidation and exploitation.

Before discussing these newer forms of exploitation, let us discuss the movement of the Japanese into the valley and establish their initial role as migrant laborers.

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[1] J.P. Raymond, "California Cereals," in *Transactions of the State Agricultural Society,* Sacramento, 1865, 69. Cited in Jan Otto Marius Broek, *The Santa Clara Valley, California,* N.V.A. Oosthoek's Uitgevers-Mij.: Utrecht, 1932, 76.

[2] E.J. Wickson, *Rural California,* Rural, State and Province Series: New York, 1923, 136.

[3] Eugene Sawyer, *History of Santa Clara County,* Historic Record Company: Los Angeles, 1922, 55.

[4] *San Jose Weekly Mercury,* June 18, 1868, 2.

[5] See, *History of San Benito County,* San Francisco, 1881.

[6] Prior to 1864, those who raised crops were required to "enclose their lands with good and substantial fences, or otherwise submit to the depredations of the stock, without any legal address." Broek, *Santa Clara Valley,* 61.

[7] Broek, *Santa Clara Valley,* 61.

[8] Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream: 1850-1915,* Oxford University Press: New York, 1973, 192.

[9] *San Jose Weekly Mercury,* April 15, 1880, 2.

[10] Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California,* University of Illinois Press: Chicago, 1973, 42 ff.

[11] Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California,* State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Madison, 1967, 40 ff.

[12] See, Peter C.Y. Leung, *One Day, One Dollar: Locke, California and the Chinese Farming Experience in the Sacramento Delta,* Chinese American History Project: El Cerrito, CA, 1984.

[13] Sucheng Chan, "The Chinese in California Agriculture," unpubl. manuscript, 40.

[14] Broek, *Santa Clara Valley,* 69.

[15] Glenna Matthews, "A California Middletown: The Social History of San Jose in the Depression," unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1976, 29.

[16] In order to attract new settlers, Owen was constantly marketing the valley in flyers and booklets which were sent back east. A common theme was that despite what people might have heard, there still was land available, and for a fair price. In fact, Owen's importunement reflected a constant concern that land prices were too high, with the large owners grabbing more than their share. Historians have argued that a major hinderance to further settlement of California was the difficulty of buying land. See Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field,* Peregrine Publishers, Inc.: Santa Barbara, 1971 edition, 11-27.

[17] Perhaps the most important link between the Central Pacific and the local land barons involved the Rea family of Gilroy. In return for maintaining the railroad's interest in San Jose, the family was blessed with a major junction on their South Bay properties (increasing land values by about 1,000 percent, *San Jose Mercury,* February 10, 1870), and a position on the state's railroad commission for James Rea.

[18] Owen writes: ". . .the labor which we employ them to perform would go unperformed if prevailing rates for white labor were required to be paid for that class of work. On the other hand we think it can be shown that the white laborer is actually benefitted, and the sphere of his opportunities for employment actually enlarged by the employment of Chinese labor." *San Jose Mercury,* March 4, 1869.

[19] Denis Kearney was a frequent visitor to San Jose, and he never failed to draw a large and boistrous crowd. The Workingmen's Party had a strong following in the valley.

[20] *San Jose Weekly Mercury,* January 20, 1870, 3.

[21] *San Jose Weekly News,* April 22, 1869, 3.

[22] Naglee employed Chinese workers in his operation, and the church had recently opened a school for Chinese children. See *San Jose Weekly Mercury,* February 25, 1869, 2.

[23] See the *San Jose Weekly Mercury,* March 11, 1869, April 22, 1869, November 4, 1869, and May 20, 1869.

[24] *Daily Morning Times* (San Jose), February 21, 1883.

[25] *San Jose Mercury,* March 30, 1886.

[26] See, the following issues of the *San Jose Daily Mercury:* April 16, 1890; May 2, 1890; May 22, 1890; June 1,

1890; July 19, 1890; August 6, 1890; February 1, 1891; August 17, 1891; October 10, 1891; December 11, 1891; January 4, 1892; January 25, 1892; February 20, 1892; April 2, 1892; April 13, 1892; April 23, 1892; April 26, 1892; May 4, 1892; and May 5, 1892.

[27] *State Register,* 1859, 241. Cited in Broek, *Santa Clara Valley,* 67.

[28] San Jose Chamber of Commerce, *Santa Clara County, California,* Wright-Eley Company: San Jose, 1930, 37, 38.

[29] Broek, *Santa Clara Valley,* 124.

[30] Broek, *Santa Clara Valley,* 65.

[31] Chan, "Chinese in California Agriculture," Table 3, 42.

[32] See Matthews, "California Middletown," *passim.*

[33] The *Mercury* called the new immigrants "very polite and urbane as is their characteristic." *San Jose Mercury,* December 18, 1898, 7.

Sakura
CHERRY

vice versa. In any case, both began about the same time, both were started by people from Wakayama, and both were located in the Trimble Road area. The Kino and NKS companies were extraordinary because they were formed so early in the period of Japanese migrant labor in the valley, and because they are good illustrations of ethnic cooperation on the basis of *ken*. They also point to the beginnings of how clusters were probably formed — by groups of farmers from the same *ken* or, in most cases, by groups of friends.

Agnew: An Example of an Early Farm Cluster

The cluster at Agnew is the best documented example of an early farm cluster. In 1908, the Immigration Commission conducted a study of the community. In that year, according to the Commission, the two largest clusters of Japanese farming communities in the valley were at Alviso and Agnew, some eight and six miles north of San Jose, respectively, on the southern littoral of the bay. Alviso, due east of Agnew, was by far the larger of the two, numbering about forty-four Japanese farmers, while Agnew held about one-third that amount. The cluster at Agnew was widely separated rather than grouped on a single tract of land. The first Japanese farmers arrived in Agnew in 1901; most settled after 1905. The early date is significant because while the vast majority of Japanese in the valley were migrant laborers on white farms, a settled Japanese farming community was growing.

The Commission studied twenty of the farms in Agnew and Alviso, which were selected as typical of the small farms in the area. Those twenty farmers leased 235 acres, the largest tract being 47 acres, the smallest, 2 acres. The average holding was 11.75 acres. Some of the larger tracts were leased under the names of several persons, then subdivided and subleased to others either on a cash or share basis. Rents paid varied from $10 to $20 per acre, and averaged $15.35 per acre. Most of the farmers grew vegetables or berries, especially strawberries, although there were a few orchards and dairy cattle. Sales for 1907 totaled $23,624.22, and receipts in 1908 amounted to $6,680 from strawberries, $12,500 from other berries, $1,565 from vegetables, and $2,879 from other crops.[25]

Highly intensive farming was performed, with very little investment in the latest farm equipment. "These farmers do not keep any live stock except horses and very few of them; for after the land is once plowed and furrowed so as to make the ridges for plants and the irrigating trenches, all of the work is done by hand with hoe, weeding knife, and a few other hand tools of the simplest kind."[26] The farmers maximized their labor by farming as a household unit, including the labor of wives, and as collectives through "swap work." Most, thus, did not require additional labor except for those with the largest holdings during the harvest time, and except for white teamsters who were contracted to break the ground. All of those strategies enabled land tenancy with a minimum of capital. Other tactics included the construction of small "shacks" to serve as houses, and the use of every available piece of land including the ridges along the irrigation ditches, which were planted with vegetables consumed by the farmers themselves. While admirable, Japanese intensive farming was

not indicative of successful farming per se; on the contrary, it revealed the difficult struggle waged by Japanese farmers against the impermanence of migrant labor.

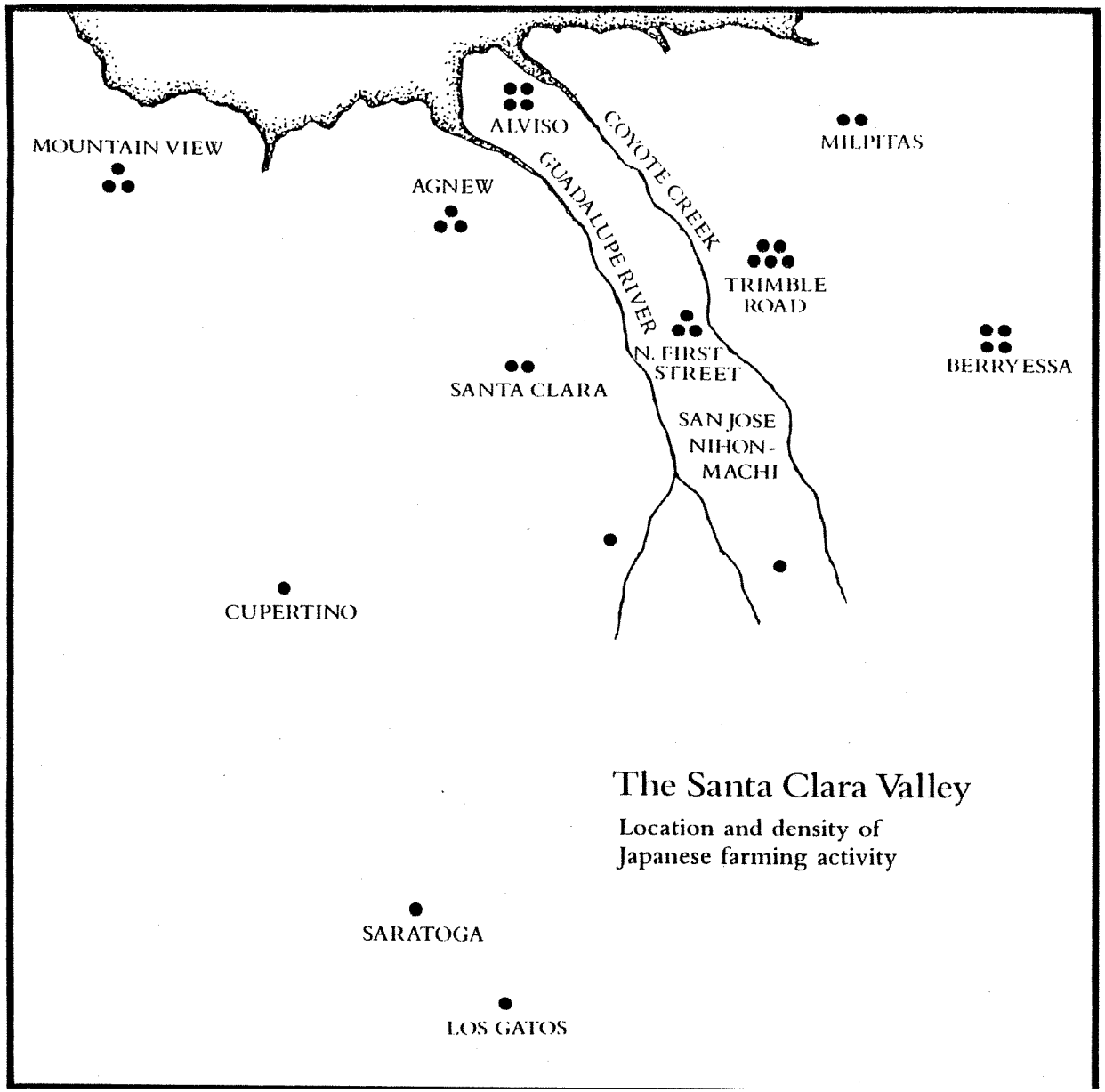
There are several interesting features in the pattern of settlement. These, if typical, shed new light on the conventional notions of Japanese involvement in California agriculture. First, most of these farmers, sixteen of the twenty-three, were married before arriving in California; thirteen of these came as couples. Of crucial importance here is not the presence of women in the bachelor society, but the presence of women in the movement of Japanese from migrant laborers to tenant farmers. Women were employed on the farm and in the cannery at Alviso. That labor probably made Japanese tenancy possible, or at least, more likely. Second, a majority arrived as re-migrants from Hawaii, eleven of twenty farmers. "A large number had, after marriage, gone to Hawaii as laborers upon the sugar plantations, and then upon tiring of life there, and learning through friends of the better opportunities found here, came to the continent."[27] Third, only seven of the twenty began their tenancies as sharecroppers. Most started as cash tenants. Fourth, thirteen of the twenty were aided by credit from mainly Asian shopkeepers. When they first began, "They were provided with supplies on credit by Chinese dealers in San Jose, by Japanese shopkeepers in San Jose and Alviso, and by a white dealer in Santa Clara."[28] And finally, supplementary employment by both men and women was necessary in most cases:

> Thirteen of these 20, and the wives in several instances, work for wages for from one to four years while developing their farms and berry patches. The men find employment at $1.50 per day on the fruit ranches not far away while the women secure work in the cannery at Alviso, where their earnings, which are on a piece basis, average more than $1 per day. The older farmers can now make a living without taking outside work, but those who have leased land more recently frequently combine work for wages with work on their plots of ground.[29]

Highly revealing of the daily realities of these farm families at Agnew and Alviso is the following description of their homes: "The houses are 'boxed up' of rough boards or 'shakes,' unbattened, unplastered, and not ceiled. In the majority of cases one room serves as living room, kitchen, and dining room, but in some cases a shed-like 'lean-to' is provided for cooking and eating. The floors are uncarpeted and the walls unadorned save for picture advertisements."[30] Such living conditions, noted the report, fell far below the standard of white tenant farmers, reinforcing our contention that Japanese farm tenancy was only a step removed from migrant labor.

Transitions: From Migrant Labor to Tenancy

Japanese farmers in the Santa Clara Valley moved from migrant laborers to tenants in a relatively short period of time. That phenomenon is probably more indicative of the changing social relations of the region than the successful efforts of Japanese migrants to resist impermanence. The changeover


MOUNTAIN VIEW
ALVISO
AGNEW
GUADALUPE RIVER
COYOTE CREEK
MILPITAS
TRIMBLE ROAD
N. FIRST STREET
BERRYESSA
SANTA CLARA
SAN JOSE NIHON-MACHI
CUPERTINO
SARATOGA
LOS GATOS
The Santa Clara Valley
Location and density of Japanese farming activity

Prospect Road. The Japanese language school thus served as a center for the dispersed community in the vicinity.[41]

Families sometimes settled where they were first employed as migrant laborers. Hirokichi Inouye, upon arriving in San Jose around 1900, was employed seasonally on the Hume Ranch in Los Gatos. The ranch consisted of about 400 acres of orchards, primarily prunes but also some apricots. During the winter, Hirokichi went to San Francisco to find work in the city. After several years of this, he became a permanent employee of Hume Ranch and in 1910 was promoted to foreman of the Japanese work crew. All of the farm laborers were Japanese with one exception, a white man who took care of the farm equipment. The workers lived in bunkhouses on the ranch. During the peak season, the ranch employed as many as seventy workers, while during the winter, only a skeleton crew of ten to fifteen was maintained.

In 1919, in anticipation of the impending division and sale of the Hume Ranch, Hirokichi formed the Glenhill Farming Corporation. In order to evade the alien land law, he made his American-born sons, Kaoru, Tatsuru, and Tohru, the trustees. The corporation was thus able to purchase over fourteen acres of the available property. The Inouye family was one of only a few Japanese families living in the Los Gatos area. The others included the Nishimura and Oka families. Because of their small numbers, those Japanese belonged to the west side cluster, sending their children to the Payne Avenue Japanese language school.[42]

Other Japanese farming clusters appeared in the Santa Clara and Berryessa townships. There were about a dozen Japanese farms in the Santa Clara area during the 1920s and 1930s, including those of the Higuchi, Matsumoto, Nakamura, Nakano, Ono, Sakamoto, and Sawabe families. A Japanese language school was established at Scott and Kifer, and Asanuma, an insurance agent, served as teacher. Japanese peddlers came from San Jose Nihonmachi to sell groceries and Japanese foodstuffs to the Santa Clara farmers. Because of the small number of Japanese in the area, most looked to Nihonmachi for recreation and entertainment. Still, the circle of friends for social interaction centered around the immediate cluster.[43]

The Berryessa cluster, including the twenty families on the McGinty and Brandt ranches, grew a diversity of garden crops and shared in the cost of drilling and maintaining wells. Kechizo and Kane Matsumura, residing on JUF (Jim Uyeda Farm) No. 1, farmed beans, bell peppers, broccoli, cucumbers, lettuce, raspberries, spinach, squash, and tomatoes. Such diversity enabled virtually year-round cultivation and income for the family. The farmers of the cluster shared horses, implements, and, on occasion, their hired laborers. The Matsumuras, along with three other farmers, shared a common well. A schedule was drawn up for its daily use, a log was kept of the hours used by each farmer, and when the monthly bill arrived, the group gathered at a member's home to settle the account and socialize. A Japanese language school was built on Yamaichi's property, and, as in Santa Clara, peddlers from Nihonmachi came by to sell tofu, fresh fish, and other foodstuffs.[44]

Evolution of Marketing Strategies

The 1920s thus witnessed the emergence and

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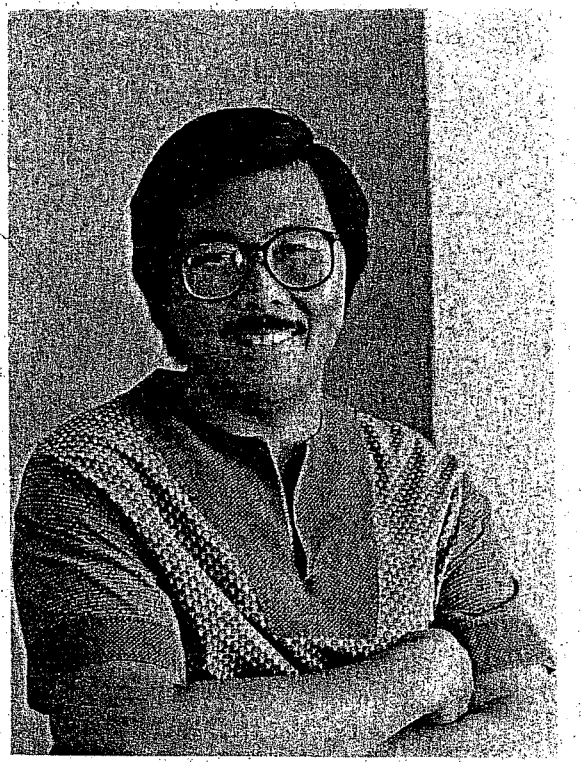

GARY Y. OKIHIRO is Director of the Ethnic Studies Program and an Associate Professor of History at the University of Santa Clara. He received his doctoral degree in history at the University of California, Los Angeles, and has published widely in the fields of Japanese American and African history. His most recent book is an edited collection titled, *In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History.*

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Visiting Professor, Department of History, Columbia University, 1998-99.
Professor, Department of History, Cornell University, 1995-99.
Visiting Professor, Department of History, Princeton University, 1996.
Associate Professor, Department of History, Cornell University, 1990-95.
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Associate Professor, Department of History, Santa Clara University, 1980-90.
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The Flight Into Inwardness: An Exposition and Critique of Herbert Marcuse's Ti Liberative Aesthetics (Cranbury, New Jersey, London, and Toronto: Associated Presses, 1985).

Japanese Legacy: Farming and Community Life in California's Santa Clara Vall authored with Gary Y. Okihiro (Cupertino, California: California History Center,

American Politics in a Changing World, co-authored with Janet Flammang, Der and Kenneth Smorsten (Pacific Grove, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Comp 1990).

"Fortune Comes of Age (in Machiavelli's Literary Works)," *The Sixteenth Centu* XI, 4, (Winter, 1980).

From: "Timothy Lukes" <TLukes@scu.edu>
To: <Charlane.Gross@edaw.com>
Date: 9/20/2006 9:11:28 AM
Subject: Re: Japanese Strawberry Farming post-WWII

Dear Ms. Gross:

Apologies for the delayed response, but this is our first week of classes, and I am swamped. I don't think I have any information that would help. I have pretty much expunged my files on the project, and my expertise was on the social and political climate of the time anyway.

I will let you know if I discover anything I deem relevant.

Best wishes on your project. I rode my bike by the facility many times as a kid.

regards,
Tim Lukes

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>>> "Charlane Gross" <Charlane.Gross@edaw.com> 18-Sep-06 12:32:47 PM >>>
Dear Dr. Lukes and Dr. Okihiro:

I am an archaeologist with an environmental services firm called EDAW. We are based in Sacramento and are preparing an Environmental Impact Report (EIR) for a 17-acre development in the City of Santa Clara, in Santa Clara County. The property in question became the University of California's experimental Deciduous Fruit Field Station (a.k.a. BAREC) in the late 1920s.

Research for the cultural resources portion of the EIR has raised several questions regarding the regional importance of BAREC. It is known that there was some experimentation with strawberry varieties and/or growing techniques there, and I know that the Japanese cultivated most of the strawberries in the region before WWII and internment. My two major questions are: What proportion of Japanese farmers returned to strawberry farming in the region after the war? and Did varieties or techniques developed at BAREC have a major impact on the farms of those who did take it up again?

I'm hoping that one or the other of you can offer some insight into these questions or can point me in the direction of information on this topic.

Thank You,

Please note that my email address has changed to:
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From: "Gary Y. Okihiro" <gyo3@columbia.edu>
To: Charlane Gross <Charlane.Gross@edaw.com>
Date: 9/22/2006 11:13:56 AM
Subject: Re: Japanese Strawberry Farming post-WWII

i'm sorry, Ms Gross, for my tardy response, but i've been out of town. yours are intriguing questions, which, unfortunately, i can't give you definitive answers to, either to the numbers of post-WW II returnees who went into strawberry farming, or the influence of the UC experimental station on their production. sorry. but you can track the numbers who went back into strawberry farming from statistics generated by the War Relocation Authority whose files are at UC Berkeley (either in Doe Library or the Bancroft), and you might track down farmers from that period like Eiichi Sakauye through San Jose's Japanese American Resource Center/Museum. in fact, the center/museum can help you contacting folk. all best wishes with your research, and let me know if i can help further.

gary

Quoting Charlane Gross <Charlane.Gross@edaw.com>:

> Dear Dr. Lukes and Dr. Okihiro:
>
> I am an archaeologist with an environmental services firm called
> EDAW.
> We are based in Sacramento and are preparing an Environmental
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> on this
> topic.
>
> Thank You,
>
>
>
> Please note that my email address has changed to:
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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

People in Motion

The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans

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People in Motion

The Postwar Adjustment of the Evacuated Japanese Americans

United States Department of the Interior
J. A. KRUG, *Secretary*
WAR AGENCY LIQUIDATION UNIT
formerly
War Relocation Authority
R. K. CANDLIN, *Acting Chief*

U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

families and were unable to find work and housing adequate for their needs. The feeling of stigma attached to acceptance of public assistance has been greatly weakened by the evacuation experience; ill fortune was caused by public action, they believe, and many have come to accept the idea that assistance is a public responsibility properly to be accepted. Furthermore, assistance from within the Japanese American group, which before the war was made available through the various Japanese associations and prefectural societies, is no longer available, since these organizations have not been revived, nor are group resources sufficient to carry the present load.

In addition there is little, if any, opportunity for the older people to get into productive employment, and living costs in most instances now prohibit children from assuming responsibility for the care of their aged parents or other relatives.

In spite of these difficulties, however, the number on relief at the end of 1945 had been more than halved by the close of 1946. The Director of the Bureau of Public Assistance in one of the larger west coast cities noted:

> "Many of the younger Japanese appear to be working out their resettlement problems satisfactorily. For several months the Bureau has employed four full time counsellors, one of whom devoted most of her efforts toward developing employment opportunities and referring persons to jobs. It was her experience that once the person got started in private employment, much of his adjustment took care of itself."/2

Elsewhere in the country there has been almost no need for public assistance, a fact partly due to the general policy of returning indigents to the "county of original residence" and partly because those who were worst off remained in the centers until the last. Late in 1946 a check with welfare authorities in Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Detroit revealed only one known case where public help was being received, from among an evacuee population of between 3,500 and 4,000. An inquiry made of Chicago authorities in April of 1947 brought the response that cases of indigency among Japanese Americans in that city were so few in number as to have escape special notice. Likewise from Denver, word was received that not more than six or seven individuals had received help during the past year.

From the brief summary above it has been seen that the economic experience of the evacuated Japanese Americans has been far from uniform. In part this has resulted from individual differences of ability, training, outlook, and family responsibility among them, and in part by

differences in length of time since leaving the centers. It is now considerably less than two years since the relocation centers were closed, a period far too short for the working out of stable adjustments following a disruption as catastrophic as that provided by evacuation. Although many have reported high earnings in the post-evacuation period, many retain doubts concerning a future which appears to bear little relationship to prewar experience. Another five years, at least, will be required before the full economic effect of the evacuation can be measured.

The contrasts and uncertainties of economic adjustment, noted above, have made the coherent presentation of the more detailed discussion of this subject difficult. To at least partially solve this problem, the remaining sections of this chapter are divided into separate discussions of the particular localities covered, and to some extent according to the kind of occupation. Brief notes on the prewar situation will be found at the beginning of those parts where such information is pertinent to the discussion of present adjustment. Since agriculture and related business activity provided the most important source of livelihood before the war, and agriculture remains the largest single type of enterprise, this will be given first attention. However, before going into this detailed discussion, the matter of financial loss attributable to the evacuation will be examined briefly, and an account given of the nature and present status of legislation proposed to compensate those who suffered such loss.

Evacuation Loss and Remedial Legislation

While comprehensive and accurate information concerning losses caused by the evacuation has not been available, logically, the heaviest individual losses could be expected to have been suffered by business men and farmers. In the aggregate, however, damage to household goods through vandalism and breach of trust, plus loss of income while the people were in relocation centers, may equal business and farm losses. Because operation of business enterprises and farms was largely in Issei hands, and relatively few Nisei were established in an independent household, by far the greatest proportion of the total loss was borne by the first generation Japanese Americans. However, those Nisei who may have expected financial support in opening a business or a substantial inheritance, have been indirectly affected.

Information available to the War Relocation Authority at the time that agency was liquidated has been summed up in a report entitled "The Wartime Handling of Evacuee Property" which outlines governmental efforts to minimize evacuation losses and provides a number of case examples. A series of brief quotations from that document follows:

"The Commission would have jurisdiction to adjudicate claims by persons of Japanese ancestry for damage to or loss of real or personal property, or other impairment of assets, that arose from or as a natural and reasonable consequence of the evacuation and exclusion program. This standard is sufficiently flexible to permit the Commission to consider claims involving 'property' losses only in the broad sense, such as the impairment of going-concern values. At the time the standard excludes claims that are largely speculative and less deinitely appraisable, such as claims for anticipated wages or profits that might have accrued had not the evacuation occurred, for deterioration of skills and earning capacity, and for physical hardships or mental suffering.

"In determining the amount of relief to be granted, the Commission would be required to consider other existing or intervening factors that affected the loss. Thus some losses, as in the case of businesses specializing in import or sale of Japanese goods, would have occurred even if there had been no evacuation. Likewise, damage may have been aggravated in some cases by failure of the evacuee to take steps which they reasonably should have taken, even in the abnormal circumstances, to protect themselves. On the other hand, there are numerous instances in which intervening factors immediately causing the loss, such as arson, theft, mortgage foreclosure, loss of goods while in Government possession, or breach of trust, should not affect recovery, because the situation giving rise to the loss would not have occurred had the owners been permitted to remain in possession.

"Among the types of claims excluded by the bill from consideration by the Commission are claims of persons who were voluntarily or involuntarily deported to Japan after December 7, 1941, or who are resident in a foreign country. Several hundred evacuees voluntarily repatriated to Japan during the war. Since termination of hostilities approximately 7,500 persons, most of them evacuees, have at government expense voluntarily gone to Japan, chiefly from internment camps and the Tule Lake Segregation Center. In addition, the Department of Justice has been determining who among the aliens (including persons who renounced their American citizenship) should be deported to Japan. This processing is the culmination of the loyalty screening procedure to which the evacuees have been subjected since the evacuation. I do not believe that these repatriates and

deportees have any moral claim upon this Government. Similarly, I believe that persons who before the war went to Japan or elsewhere to establish residence have no claim for compensation that we need recognize.

"The remaining provisions of the bill are largely self-explanatory and I shall merely mention the more important. All claims would have to be filed within 18 months following enactment, and the Commission would be required to complete its work within three and one-half years thereafter. The Commission would have broad investigatory authority, including the power of subpoena, and each claimant would be entitled to a hearing. Assistance in preparing claims for filing could be extended by the Commission to needy claimants. The Commission's adjudication would be conclusive and a bar to further recovery. Awards would be paid in the same manner as are final judgements of the Court of Claims, except that the Commission would be authorized to pay small awards, not exceeding $2,500 in amount, in order to afford more expeditious relief to those whose need may be acute.

"As a matter of fairness and good conscience, and because these particular American citizens and law-abiding aliens have borne with patience and undefeated loyalty the unique burdens which this Government has thrown upon them, I strongly urge that the proposed legislation be enacted into law."

Adjustment in Agriculture and Related Business Activity

Prewar west coast agriculture. In 1940, 45 percent of the gainfully employed among the 112,353 persons of Japanese descent living in the three West Coast States were engaged in growing crops. Another 18 percent were employed in the wholesaling, retailing, and transportation of food products. Nearly two-thirds of the total working force was directly dependent on agriculture. A considerable proportion of the remainder was in a service relationship to farmers and produce handlers.

A prewar description of the Los Angeles Japanese community provided by Fumiko Fukuoka, a University of Southern California graduate student, stated:

"Little Tokyo, the business center of the Japanese communities, depends upon the farmers of Southern California. Its business reflects the economic conditions of the farmers.

In it a familiar sight is entire households of Japanese farmers walking up and down the street. They shop at the stores and eat at the Japanese restaurants, or chop suey cafes, and later go to Fuji Theater to see Japanese films. Fuji Theater has 300 seats, and all of them are filled on Saturday and Sunday.

"A good illustration of the dependence of 'Little Tokyo' upon the farmers was furnished during the farm-laborers' strike in Los Angeles county from April to June 1935. For two months while the strike lasted, the economic condition of the Japanese farmers was critical. Finally they stopped coming to the Japanese town."/1

The contribution of Japanese immigrant farmers to the development of agriculture in the three West Coast States was considerable.

They had transformed the poor clay land in Florin, California, into crop producing fields. Beginning about 1898, George Shima, the "Potato King" reclaimed the delta region of the San Joaquin River and made it one of the best potato and onion fields in the country. By 1911, the pioneering of Ikuta had transformed the alkali flats of Colusa, Glenn, Butte, Yolo, Yuba, and Sutter counties into productive rice fields, which, in 1918, added more than a million sacks of rice to the food supplies of the Allied Nations. Starting in 1913 in Walnut Grove, Japanese reclaimed the deltas of this area; and by 1919 had produced a crop of asparagus valued at $1,800,000 from 10,000 acres. In the Imperial Valley, the Japanese cleared tracts of desert land and planted cantaloupe, then in an experimental stage; and by 1919 were farming 13,481 acres which bore a crop worth $2,822,150, while all other farmers combined had only 7,989 acres under cultivation. In 1910 they moved into Livingston, near Merced and began to reclaim strips of wilderness; by 1920 Livingston had become the most important shipping station in Merced County.

In Oregon, similar contributions were being made. In Hood River County the Japanese engaged first in the raising of strawberries, and by 1920 were producing 75 percent of the total grown in the valley. In 1923 they developed the asparagus industry which had been commenced earlier by John Koberg; and by 1928, they were shipping 50,000 crates annually to all parts of the country. Just before evacuation Hood River County Japanese produced an annual crop of $5,000,000, which included 90 percent of the county's asparagus, 80 percent of the strawberries, 35 percent of the pears and 30 percent of the apples. Near Salem the Japanese played an important part in the development of the Lake Labish area into the richest farmland in the world. By 1940, they were producing annually 200,000 crates of celery, 30,000 sacks of onions, 25,000

crates of lettuce and 5,000 crates of carrots. In Washington County, in 1939, the Japanese farmers cultivated about 1,400 acres, on which they grew 2,800 tons of berries which were sold for $250,000, largely to eastern markets. Near Gaston, after repeated failures, the Japanese reclaimed 500 acres of the bottom lands of Lake Wapato which in 1939 produced 80,000 sacks of onions. Before evacuation 75 percent of the vegetables sold on the Portland market were produced by Japanese in Multnomah and Clackamas Counties. In the two counties, 4,500 acres producing an annual crop of $2,000,000 were being operated by Japanese.

Similarly, in the State of Washington, much of the land had to be cleared of stumps and undergrowth following logging operations, or reclaimed from marshland before crops could be raised. In many instances, Japanese undertook clearing operations on a share basis, thus securing a lease on a part of the land reclaimed. Although, by the time of evacuation, 60 percent of the Japanese American population of the State of Washington lived in cities, principally Seattle, they operated 706 farms with a total acreage of 20,326. These farms in the main produced specialty crops: cherries, berries, potatoes, and fresh produce valued at an estimated $4,000,000 annually.

As noted in the previous chapter, it was partly this success that produced the anti-Japanese agitation out of which the Alien Land Laws eventuated. While we have seen that these laws were relatively ineffective in driving the Japanese from agriculture before the war, they did serve to some extent to inhibit continued expansion, and were at least partially responsible for an increasing degree of urbanization among Japanese Americans between 1920 and Pearl Harbor.

By 1940, it was estimated by the U. S. Department of Agriculture that in the three West Coast States, the total valuation of the 6,118 Japanese operated farms, comprised of 258,074 acres, was $72,600,000 in land and farm buildings, with $6,000,000 worth of equipment in use. The Department's figures, available only for California show that of the 17,452 persons comprising the Japanese American labor force attached to agriculture in that State, 5,806 were farm operators or managers. 3,954 were unpaid family workers, and 7,692 were paid farm workers. No data is given to indicate the extent to which the paid workers were employed by other Japanese, but it is known that a considerable proportion worked on Caucasian ranches. Of the farms listed by the Department of Agriculture one-fourth were part or fully owned, with the remaining operations conducted on leased land. They represented 2.2 percent of the number and value of all farms in these three states, but only .4 percent of all land in farms, and 1.5 percent of all crop land harvested. The average size was about 42 acres. Most of the farms, about 84 percent, were located in California.

The small proportion of Japanese farms did not accurately measure the importance of their contribution to the market, since Japanese farming operations were specialized in certain crops. Thus annual valuation of Japanese produced truck crops in California was placed at $35,000,000 just prior to the war, which represented between 30 and 35 percent of the total. Although the Japanese operated only 3.9 percent of all farms in the state and harvested but 2.7 percent of all cropland harvested, just prior to evacuation they were producing:

90 percent or more:	Snap beans for marketing; celery, spring and summer; peppers; strawberries.
50 to 90 percent:	Artichokes; snap beans for canning; cauliflower; celery, fall and winter; cucumbers; fall peas; spinach; tomatoes.
25 to 50 percent:	Asparagus; cabbage; cantaloupes; carrots; lettuce; onions; watermelons.

Further, the Japanese farmers of Los Angeles County, who comprised about 30 percent of all Japanese farmers in the state, raised 64 percent of the truck crops for processing, and 87 percent of the vegetables for fresh marketing which appeared on the Los Angeles wholesale market.

Japanese Americans operating in the Los Angeles wholesale market had been doing an annual business of more than $26,000,000. Of the 167 fruit and vegetable wholesalers in three Los Angeles markets, 29 were Japanese, and of the 232 permanent stall operators in the open market, 134 were Japanese. They handled an estimated 37 percent of the staple fruits and vegetables and 75 percent of the green vegetables consumed locally, and employed 2,000 Issei and Nisei. Japanese controlled markets, similar to but smaller than that in Los Angeles, existed in a number of other west coast localities.

Not only did the market provide an important outlet for produce, but these establishments provided loans in return for crop contracts, and maintained a market information service. It was the custom of Japanese farmers in almost all crops to borrow money annually to finance each year's principal crop, if not the entire production. The produce grown by Japanese found outlets primarily through this market structure, much of it going to the 1,000 or more Japanese operated fruit and vegetable stands in Los Angeles County.

The fact that competition was within a narrow range of products, and successful within that range may account for the severity of the prejudice against the Japanese in agriculture. To the Caucasian farmer whose production paralleled that of the Japanese farmer the competitive threat of the latter was important beyond his relation to all production. The primary virtues of the Japanese farmers--willingness to take infinite

pains, to work with great diligence to bring low value land to production, to live soberly and with frugality--became the faults which caused alarm; because the Issei farmer was a part of a visible minority, his ability to compete could be attacked by political as well as economic means. The setting up of markets within control of his own group provided the Issei farmer with security, but also served to increase resentment and prejudice.*

Postwar west coast agriculture. During and immediately following the evacuation, all but a very few leaseholds were given up, and land ownership decreased by about 11,000 acres. Wholesale and retail establishments passed into other hands, or were closed. Nearly three-fourths of the farm acreage, including that leased, was lost and the entire market organization was destroyed.

Late in 1946, a check of the wholesale markets in Los Angeles indicated that one fully Japanese owned commission house and only 14 produce companies had been reestablished, of which 11 were yard operators and three were merchant houses in partnership with Caucasian operators. Between 150 and 160 Japanese Americans were employed.

Among problems which made return to the wholesale market difficult were the lack of Japanese farmers who could be depended upon for produce, the lack of Japanese controlled retail outlets, and difficulty in securing leases which had been sold cheaply at the outset of the war, but which could now be repurchased only at double and treble their prewar value.

The present condition of the market was described by one of the Japanese operators whose prewar experience extended back for 20 years:

> "The Issei can't lease land. Farm equipment is high, and even if they can get land, there is often no house available. The Issei who control the money want to hang onto it. There are quite a few former market big shots who smoked cigars and wore white collars now doing gardening work. They want that fast money, and after a couple of years they'll take it easy. The Nisei don't want to go back

*In a few places along the west coast, where competition was less direct, it has been noted that prejudice was less articulate. Thus, in the Santa Clara Valley where postwar reception was better than elsewhere most Caucasian farmers produced tree fruits, while the Japanese specialized in berries and vegetables which in the main were marketed through non-Japanese channels.

on the farm...It took the Japanese 40 years to build up to where they were; then there were also farmers to back up the wholesale markets...It will take time to get back in, but eventually we might get back in. The retail stores will have a tough time competing against these big markets that have learned how to display, and sell vegetables and fruit. It is no longer a monopoly of the Japanese.

"When the Caucasians began to get those big supermarkets, they owned everything in them. The vegetables were the least of their money making items. If they lost money in vegetables, they made money in their other departments. Instead of buying three crates of vegetables, and pushing sales, they buy only one. You take the price of romaine, we sell it for 50 cents a crate, but you buy it in the market for 15 cents a head."/1

Before the war 1,000 Japanese operated retail outlets constituted approximately 75 percent of such stores in Los Angeles County. Only 30 had returned to operation by the end of 1946. According to an Issei produce operator of long experience:

"It took 20 years to build up a chain of Japanese retail fruit stands. It was easy to start the retail distribution centers then because there was control of the wholesale market for about 40 years, and back of that the farmers supported the commission merchants."/1

The number of Japanese Americans who returned to the evacuated area to resume operation of farms is not more than one-fourth of those who operated farms before the war, and with minor exception are those who previously owned land. Opposition to return was greatest in rural areas. In central California, shots were fired into at least 20 homes of returned evacuees and several homes were destroyed by arson. Very early in the return, boycotts against Japanese American produce were threatened along the entire coast. In spite of vocal and frequently violent antagonism, there was no personal injury done to any of those who returned, and nearly all who owned land were able to reclaim their property. By the time produce was ready for the market, established Caucasian produce houses were handling Japanese farm production throughout California, and in the Northwest means of disposing of produce were found after initial difficulty. Very few, however, were able to secure leases, in large part because established landowners found it more profitable to operate land themselves in the strong market which has existed since the war.

Although interest both of friends and opponents has centered upon the independent farm operator, as we have seen, persons in this category made up only about one-third of the prewar Japanese American agricultural labor force, and many former farm tenants have since returned to the status of paid farm laborer.

Those who returned to farm work and were physically capable of strenuous exertion found very little difficulty in finding work that paid well, either in 1945 or 1946. Hourly wages ranged from 85 cents to $1.00, and piecework earnings ran higher.

A considerable proportion of the prewar paid farm labor force consisted of older men who had never married, the "Issei bachelors" whose lack of stability contributed much to the problems of relocation center life. Many of these men had lived a roving life, and prewar California was dotted with "Japanese rooming houses" where these men lived during the harvest season, and sometimes engaged in sake drinking bouts over week ends and during the off season.

After the war many of these men came back to the harvest fields too old for productive labor, and today one may find a few in county farms, a few being cared for by religious workers, both Buddhist and Christian, and a larger number tucked away here and there on the farms of Japanese friends, doing what work they can, receiving enough money to buy tobacco and other small necessities, but maintained largely by generosity. Some are to be found in cities like Los Angeles, working as dishwashers, occasionally making excursions into the country during the harvest.

The success of the first year of farm operations has been varied and not a few formerly independent farm families are working together as laborers, pooling their income for a time when farms can be purchased at lower prices. Japanese landowners who leased out their farms during the war found much of their first year's profits going into repairs and purchase of farm machinery, and the rebuilding of soil depleted by wartime tenants. A few instances of high return as well as of loss have come to light. General indications are that most farmers are about breaking even.

As noted earlier, land owners are finding their most serious concern in the legal question of land ownership. Issei who have developed and controlled most of the land held by Japanese Americans, are becoming old, and in the natural course of events would now be passing control to their children. However, under the terms of the Alien Land Laws, the burden of proof of legal ownership is placed on the individual holding land, and either operation or inheritance by citizen children is placed in jeopardy unless title is confirmed by court action.

Between the opening of the west coast to evacuees on January 1, 1945 and March 1947, approximately 75 cases charging violation of the Alien Land Laws have been filed in the courts of California. During this time, 12 cases have been settled in one of three ways: three by escheat to the state, three by clearance of title, and six by settlement with the State. The case most important to the group, that of Oyama, et al, which has been certified by the United States Supreme Court for presentation during its 1947 fall term, has already been discussed./3

One of the first pieces of farmland to be escheated to the State was that of Yeizo Ikeda of Monterey County. Superior Court Judge H. G. Jorgenson ruled on August 28, 1946 that the Alien Land Law had been violated and escheated 72 acres to the State. Over a year elapsed before the second case came up. It was also decided in favor of the State. Mr. and Mrs. Fujita, who had purchased land in Fresno County in the name of their daughter in 1917, had their land confiscated on December 13, 1946.

In June 1946, however, Takumi Sunada, Nisei veteran, won the right to hold his 40 acre vineyard in Fresno County free of any confiscation proceedings when the State of California filed a disclaimer to escheat action. In September, another suit in the same county involving 320 acres against William Shiba was dismissed because of lack of evidence. In February 1947, the Asakawa brothers of San Diego County won clear title to property following a suit filed by them against the State of California to have their property adjudged free of any escheat claims.

In the meantime, settlements were being accepted to quiet titles of those cases which were adjudged to have violated the Alien Land Law. On September 16, 1946, Mrs. Fumiko Mitsuuchi, citizen, agreed to pay $75,000 to the State of California for 71 acres of truck garden land located near Sawtelle, California, for which she had paid $88,562.50 in 1938. In January 1947, the State accepted settlements to quiet titles in five Fresno escheat cases for the sum of $68,415.

The largest settlement in the Fresno cases came in two suits against Takei and Natsuye Iwamura and their children amounting to $29,625 covering title to 100 acres of farming land in the Selma-Sanger area. In another proceeding, the State compromised its suit against Tamigoro and Chisato Chiamori and their children upon payment of $24,502.50 and quieted their title to 62 acres in the Reedley-Parlier area. The title to more than 40 acres was given to Yosushi Chiamori while Akira Chiamori, another son and his wife Toyoko, were given title to 26 acres. In the settlement of the fourth suit brought by the State for alleged Alien Land Law violations, Hanaka Ishii Teraoka received the rights to a 40-acre farm in the Reedley district from Keijiro and Mary Nakashima for a

consideration of $10,400. The fifth suit involved a payment of $3,887.50 to quiet title to land in the Reedley area in the name of Fumiko Helen Akahori, daughter of Mitsuo and Umeji Akahori, defendants.

Although the number of farms so far involved in escheat proceedings is relatively small--about five percent of the total number of farms owned--the sense of insecurity caused by the threat of escheat action is greatly disturbing to all Japanese American farm operators, and resources have been pooled for legal action in the Oyama case and to support the Anti-discrimination Committee of the Japanese American Citizens League. The latter organization has been active both in seeking repeal of the Alien Land Laws in the various states which have a statute of this kind, and in developing support for legislation in the United States Congress to make aliens of Japanese origin eligible for American citizenship.

Return to specific west coast localities.* The movement of the evacuee population at the close of the centers was greatest to areas which offered least resistance. The Santa Clara Valley was one of them, and to this area came, in addition to the old residents, families from the Imperial Valley, the central coastal valleys, and other less receptive places. The number of Japanese Americans increased from a prewar population of 3,773 to an estimated 6,250 by midsummer of 1946. Only in a few other areas such as Sacramento and Fresno Counties had the Japanese American population come close to reaching its pre-evacuation figure.

In the Santa Clara Valley, and elsewhere, few whose prewar farm operations depended on leased land were able to resume farming. Owners, however, had no great difficulty in getting back their land. A very few managed to get land they leased before the war. One such Nisei stated of the land owner:

> "He was really glad to see me. He had been having an awful time trying to run the place himself with the kind of labor he could get during the war. First thing he wanted to know

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*Field investigation of adjustment in the agricultural areas of the west coast planned for the late winter of 1947 had to be abandoned because of unforeseen limitations on budget. Coverage of farming areas in other sections of the country has been more thorough than for the more important areas of the west coast. Because of lack of specific information, the description that follows, while accurate, will be of a general nature and relatively brief.

if I could come back and take over the place so that he wouldn't have to think of it anymore."/1

Some, as another 32 year old Nisei, felt that it would be at least two more years before they could get back to independent farming. He said:

"We can't take a chance right now, even if we could get a piece of land. Everything costs so much. It would be all right if the price of berries would stay the way it is now. But if the price should slip a little, with production costs the way they are, we could lose $3,000 to $4,000 easily. Then our capital would be gone."/1

As previously stated, in many cases whole families were working as laborers, pooling their income for the time when farms can be purchased at lower prices. In one such case, a family of five was netting close to a thousand dollars a month during the five months or so of the harvesting season when piece work brought in high returns.

In other counties and valleys, the adjustment varied only in degree from that in the Santa Clara Valley which was more favorable than in any other section of the west.

The Imperial Valley and the Central Coast Valleys including Salinas and Santa Maria were hostile to the return of the Japanese and few went back. Thus a farmer who returned on short term leave to Lompoc, in the Santa Maria Valley, found his small farm completely stripped of everything both inside and out. The final report for the district compiled by the War Relocation Authority revealed that:

"Furniture and fixtures were removed from the home, farm tools, implements, and equipment had been stolen; perhaps as much as three thousand dollars worth. Even the water pump had been demolished and the irrigation pipe pried out of the ground to rust. This impoverished Issei now found himself with just a bare frame shelter and the grossly neglected field, but no implements, no water, no cash."/4

In the Imperial Valley where tenancy was high, community sentiment essentially anti-Japanese, and the weather extreme, about 25 farm operators had returned of the pre-evacuation total of 212. The 25 included all but one of the prewar land owners, but only a few tenant farmers.

Farther north in the smaller Coachella Valley, located in Riverside County, a greater percentage of the prewar number had returned, nearly 400 individuals as compared with a prewar 552. In this Valley, community

sentiment was favorable, and in many ways the people helped the relocated farmers get started. Paper for plant protection and other equipment were sold to the Japanese before being put on the open market. The first year's crops gave heavy returns to a few, but for most, it was a matter of breaking even.

Information is largely lacking concerning the return of farm people to the interior valleys of California, the Sacramento and the San Joaquin. It is known that in 1940, 205 of the 416 Japanese farm operators of Sacramento County were owners, and that only 37 had disposed of their property prior to 1945. Since there was considerable farm property to which to return, and there have been no reports of widespread difficulty from this section of California, it may be assumed that adjustment there has conformed to the general pattern. That this pattern has not been a simple matter of taking up where they left off at the time of evacuation is indicated by a WRA report concerning Florin:

"At the time of evacuation the Farm Security Administration attempted to secure substitute operators for the ranches and met with little success. It was almost impossible to secure operators to farm these ranches in the way that the Japanese had done. Consequently, the strawberry acreage dropped from approximately 1,600 acres to probably less than 200 acres."/5

Anti-Japanese sentiment in the San Joaquin Valley was bitter, but here too there was a comparatively large number of farm owners and they were able to resume operations. The orchards and vineyards of the valley require large numbers of workers during the harvest season and after some initial hesitation, Japanese Americans were freely hired. As a result, the numbers of Japanese Americans residing in this valley is close to the prewar figure. Although during the spring and early summer of 1945 all but a few of the serious incidents against the returned evacuees took place within a fifty mile radius of Fresno, by the late summer and fall of that year buyers for local, Los Angeles, and San Francisco produce houses were actively soliciting business from returned evacuees.

In Los Angeles and surrounding counties, little farming activity has been resumed. Much of the land formerly farmed is now either subdivided for residential purposes or is the site of newly developed industry. Corporations doing large scale farming are reluctant to lease land to the Japanese farmers. In 1940 Los Angeles County contained nearly one-fourth of all Japanese operated farms in the West Coast States. However, of the 1477 Los Angeles County farms, only 113 were owned and 1,364 were leased. Moreover, the relationship between the production of these farms and the Japanese wholesale produce operations in the city

of Los Angeles was close, and the lack of support formerly given by the wholesale structure has provided an additional handicap.

In Orange County where 95 percent of the prewar Japanese American population of 1,800 were rural people, about 70 percent have returned. In contrast to some 12,000 acres farmed before the war, however, only about 10 percent of that total is now under cultivation by the Japanese American farmers. Of 245 prewar farm operators, 48 were owners of approximately 500 acres. The acreage of owned property is about the same now, but leased land has fallen from 11,500 to about 700 acres.

Before the war the Japanese operated farms were scattered throughout the county and there was no concentration of Japanese in any particular area. In 1946, however, 10 to 15 families were concentrated in each of three hostels and an abandoned dehydrating plant. These people were commuting to neighboring farms as laborers.

While farm operators have indicated that more money is passing through their hands than did before the war, their net return is much lower. High operating costs as well as the changed market conditions in Los Angeles are said to be the reasons. Taxes are high, and farm laborers are receiving 75 cents to $1.00 an hour in contrast to their prewar scale of 40 cents an hour.

The great majority of the families in Orange County are closely knit, with family members working on individual or joint pieces of land. The number of graduates from agricultural colleges in this area is high, and techniques of farm management and operation on Japanese farms are advanced.

The first year after their return found a number leasing land; in 1946 fewer leases were available. This has been attributed to the high prices on lima beans the past year. The Caucasian farmers who have come up during the war feel that they can still make more money growing beans than they can by leasing land.

Although the acreage and number of farm operators is still limited, the Japanese residents feel that Orange County will again be an area of high garden crop productivity. Since there are only a few large Caucasian farm interests in comparison to other agricultural areas such as Santa Maria and Imperial Valley, the Japanese feel that they will not be frozen out. For this and other reasons, they believe that many Japanese farmers from those areas will drift into Orange County.

In the White River Valley of Washington, another center of agitation against return, only a few as yet are back. Many of those who formerly farmed in this area have remained in Eastern Oregon and Western

Idaho where they had located farms during the exclusion period. A Nisei resident of the White River Valley stated returning farmers who had no farms had great trouble in securing land, and as a result very few of the leading prewar farmers are even now to be found among those who have returned. Although the problem of securing leases has been somewhat alleviated, the difficulty is now that most of the farms up for lease are too large to handle. Another handicap was the serious shortage of farm equipment, much of which had been sold during the war.

Although the attitude toward Japanese Americans is unsettled in this section, a number of land owners have expressed preference for Japanese tenants, in large part because of wartime experience with tenants during the absence of the Japanese. Thus an advertisement of March 11, 1947 carried a direct appeal for Nisei tenure by virtue of the fact that it was published in The Northwest Times, a Japanese American English Language newspaper of Seattle:

> "For sale or rent: Hundred-fifty acres planting of year-old strawberries. For rent or sale. All or any part. Sprinkler irrigation furnished. Weed free. Thousand acres tillable land for expansion available. Reasonable terms. Olympia, Washington."

Marketing in this area has not been a problem, because the farmers signed contracts with canneries and packing houses, and none have shipped produce to the city.

In Hood River, Oregon, a hotbed of anti-Japanese sentiment, the Japanese Americans, most of whom owned their farms, were making good adjustments. However, forty years of anti-Japanese sentiment cannot be wiped out in a few months' time. Part of what has happened is well expressed in the words of one farmer who said:

> "I don't like those lousy Japs, but I'm not doing anything about it because I'm mixed up in a lot of farm deals with them."

Yet in spite of the undertone of racial antagonism and economic rivalry, returning servicemen and a considerable number of friendly residents quieted the opposition and made Hood River Valley a receptive place for returning evacuees.

A letter written late in 1946 to the Pacific Citizen by a Caucasian resident of the Valley stated:

> "A few of the Caucasian growers hire a crew of pruners and get the job out of the way as soon as possible, but

most of the Japanese growers take care of this job alone... They have handled entirely alone their first crop since evacuation in an orderly efficient manner and have experienced no unpleasant treatment, nor have they been pushed back for the benefit of the Caucasian growers... We found more Caucasian workers than any others in the Japanese-owned orchards, and sometimes a Japanese worker helping a Caucasian neighbor...One fruit company had a young Nisei in their office as typist and receptionist. It is doubtful that a position of this kind could have been found here by a young lady before the war."/6

Some considerations relating to the future of Japanese Americans in west coast agriculture. Whatever the future of the Japanese in west coast agriculture may be, it will be the future of the Nisei farmer. A few Issei see themselves as beginning over again, but their contribution in subjugating and reclaiming thousands of acres of waste land throughout the Pacific Coast States cannot be repeated because of their advanced age, and because they lack knowledge of modern technological methods which now replace the plodding hand work of earlier days. The evacuation brought their turbulent day in west coast agriculture to a virtual close.

The future of the Nisei can be seen only faintly at this time. In dim outline, probable developments appear familiar to the student of American agriculture.

The history of farming in the United States is full of examples of immigrant farmers who have driven themselves and their families hard, who developed new land into valuable property in the expectation of passing along to a succeeding generation their own love of the soil and a willingness to work, and who saw their sons go off to become doctors, lawyers, and mechanics in an American city where hours were less exacting and returns less dependent on the vagaries of weather and the market.

As noted earlier, there were signs that something of the same process was taking place among Japanese Americans before Pearl Harbor. A study of the Japanese at the Rohwer Relocation Center, who had come principally from the farm districts of Los Angeles County and the San Joaquin Valley, indicated that while 81 percent of the Rohwer Issei had come from farming districts of Japan, at the time of evacuation only 53 percent lived in rural areas of the United States, 41 percent lived in cities of more than 2,500 population, and five percent lived in villages of less than 2,500./7

The person making this study noted a similar trend among the Nisei:

"As for the estimated 4,000 unpaid family laborers in agriculture, objective Japanese insist that many young people were trying to leave the farm, and the census figures indicate a continuing drift into the cities... However...a certain number of young people, denied a range of opportunity in the professions and in Caucasian urban business firms, and under constant pressure from their parents to take over the farm, get married and settle down. The Nisei preferred to be second rate engineers to being first rate farmers, but since they could not be the former, they would be the latter. These, and others who had purchased land with the help of their parents were determined to make a career of farming, and felt that their future lay in the soil."/8

Field observations, while not conclusive, indicate that the farm operations of these Nisei even if not disturbed by escheat proceedings, will differ materially from those of their parents. As with other American young people who have decided to stay with the soil, Nisei are spending more for housing, are using improved scientific techniques, are having smaller families, and depend much less on family labor. These Nisei will continue to be serious competitors, but their competition will not be based, even remotely, on a depressed standard of living.

If the Alien Land Laws of the West Coast States do not drive the Nisei from the land, it is reasonably safe to predict that their farms will again produce a sizable proportion of the fruit and vegetable crop of the West Coast States, but that the Nisei will not achieve the prewar status of their parents in the agriculture of those States.

Evacuees in agriculture away from the west coast. Colorado. A number of the farmers relocated to other Western States before the reopening of the west coast, and a very few settled in the Midwest and East.

The first agricultural workers to leave the centers were those who went on seasonal leave into the intermountain sugar beet fields in the fall of 1942. Some stayed on to farm, and more joined them after the season of 1943 when nearly 14,000 left centers on temporary leave for farm work. As time went on, others relocated to farms without first going out as seasonal workers.

Colorado was one of the areas selected early by evacuees as a place to go. This State, in 1940, had a Japanese population of 2,734, of which all but about 400 lived in rural areas. Aside from being a state already having a Japanese population, Colorado was strategically located

Seabrook Farms. A few of the Seabrook resettlers went back to the west coast, but the majority remained.

A handful did find places in rural Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan. One Nisei who went to a fruit and fresh vegetable section of eastern Michigan had after three years acquired an equity in some $17,000 worth of machinery and equipment, compared with the $400 he had in pocket on arrival. During his second year, this man produced lettuce grossing $200 an acre from swamp land rented for 40 cents an acre. His credit relations with the local bank were of the best, and his acceptance in the community sound. Through his influence about 50 persons have located in this community.

This completes the information available concerning the postwar farm experience of the evacuated Japanese Americans. The following sections deal with their economic adjustment in urban situations.

Urban Economic Adjustment

California. As noted earlier, approximately 60 percent of the nearly 94,000 Japanese Americans evacuated from California had returned to that state by the end of 1946. The prewar center of this population was Los Angeles County, where it is now estimated 25,000 to 28,000 are living as compared to about 37,000 before the war. Because of this concentration, which centers in the city of Los Angeles, the description of urban economic adjustment in California will deal most fully with the situation there.*

---

*Field work in California was limited to Los Angeles and rural Santa Clara Valley; in consequence most of the material available concerning non-farm economic experience elsewhere has been gathered from secondary sources. Aside from such larger cities as San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, and Fresno, there is general evidence that the livelihood of returned Japanese Americans is gained principally from farm operations or farm labor. However, in many small communities, as for example, Parlier near Fresno, Japanese Americans have set up small service establishments, particularly groceries. There has been no specific information of hardship among these tradesmen, and it may be assumed that they are either moderately successful or at least breaking even. As already noted, plans to secure more detailed information concerning the range of enterprise in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys had to be abandoned because of curtailment of field activities.

In discussing agricultural adjustment, note was taken of the intimate relationship between the prewar Southern California farm economy and the business economy of Los Angeles. As we have seen, the Japanese farming community has recovered but a small proportion of its prewar strength. It is a fact of major importance to Japanese American businessmen in Los Angeles that the large scale marketing of truck and fresh vegetable crops produced by Japanese farmers has not been resumed, nor no longer can they expect the weekly influx of farm customers so much a part of Little Tokyo's prewar trade.

As a direct result, the economic pattern of the Japanese community in Los Angeles has undergone a marked change--from one where livelihood depended largely on independent enterprise and paid or family employment in Japanese controlled business to widespread dependence on the larger community for employment and livelihood.

By far the greatest concentration of prewar Japanese American workers was in the 1,000 fruit and vegetable markets controlled by Japanese, but scattered throughout Los Angeles County where patronage was largely from the general community. Approximately 5,000 Nisei and Issei owners and employees were estimated to be working in these stores. Other Japanese operated independent grocery and dairy product stores employed an additional 3,000, including owners. Another 2,000 were to be found in the two wholesale markets through which the fresh produce of the Japanese farmers was distributed. About 2,000 were in the contract gardening trade, servicing the estates in Beverly Hills, Hollywood, and Pasadena.

These enterprises catered primarily to the larger community, but economic control, including that over employment remained within the Japanese American group. In addition to these widespread enterprises, there were numerous small businesses which were almost wholly dependent upon the Japanese community for patronage. The latter type of enterprise was of questionable economic soundness before the war. A progressive Issei businessman, who before evacuation had established a successful variety store entirely away from the confines of Little Tokyo, analyzed the prewar situation thus:

> "With the decline of the Issei population the business in Little Tokyo was heading down grade. The number of Nisei increased, but they spoke English as fluently as any other American and their mode of living was completely Americanized with the possible exception that they liked to eat rice often and occasionally ate with chop sticks. They didn't bother to go out of their way to shop at Little Tokyo as their less Americanized parents had been accustomed."/1

Unlike the major prewar enterprises--the wholesale produce market, the retail fruit stores, most of the grocery and dairy stores, and the contract gardeners which served the larger community--the business enterprises of Little Tokyo had been based on what Mark Twain called "taking in each others washing". Social solidarity in the Japanese community had not been sufficiently strong to withstand the lure of lower prices and a greater selection of goods in chain and department stores outside the Japanese community. In prewar Los Angeles--and elsewhere, as well--the security of self employment in service to the Japanese community had become illusory. To a degree, therefore, the destruction of this type of enterprise by the evacuation merely accelerated a process already underway.

Among women a number were employed as domestics, but most spent their time and energies taking care of their children and helping out in small family businesses. Girls found little opportunity as secretaries in downtown offices, or in the garment shops in spite of the increasing number of graduates from dressmaking schools in Little Tokyo.

Although it would be inaccurate to say no Nisei or Issei men had found employment in white collar and professional lines outside the Japanese community, such employment was rare.

Since the opening of the west coast on January 1, 1945, approximately 500 business and professional men have become established in Los Angeles. Most of these are located in Little Tokyo on First and San Pedro Street with a few in other areas of Japanese concentration, including Boyle Heights, West Jefferson, and in the "skid row" section only a few blocks away from Little Tokyo. When compared to the numbers listed in the Rafu Shimpo in 1940, the present business and professional activity represents a little less than a 25 percent comeback.

Similarly, the extent of financial recovery is minute compared to the millions of dollars worth of business lost in the evacuation. The $26,000,000 a year wholesale produce business is practically untouched; the retail fruit markets which did $25,000,000 worth of business annually, and the several million dollar fishing industry are practically extinct. Returned evacuees must now depend primarily on sources of livelihood outside the control of the Japanese community.

In terms of importance to the group as a whole, therefore, a discussion of employment in Los Angeles should logically follow at this point. However, as a means of providing a basis of comparison with the prewar economic situation, the extent of recovery of business enterprise will be presented first, followed by a resume concerning employment.

Business recovery in Los Angeles. After the Japanese left, Little Tokyo became a ghost town. With the influx of war workers, Los Angeles became one of the critical housing areas in the United States, and in 1944 this location was opened for occupancy. Little Tokyo became Bronzeville, providing living space for thousands of in migrant workers, a majority of them Negroes. A number of small shops as well as hotels were opened up by these newcomers. Physically run down before the war, deterioration continued.

When the exclusion was rescinded by the Army early in 1945 the Japanese were cautious in returning to the west coast, and it was not until the last four months of 1945 that great numbers came to Los Angeles. For these, housing and employment were the most immediate needs, and during the first six months of 1946, Japanese business activity was slow to pick up. What there was--restaurants, food stores, and hotels--directly served these needs.

As the people became more settled, additional shops were opened and gradually the wartime businessmen were displaced by Japanese merchants. Predictions of widespread conflict between the returning Japanese and the Negroes who had taken over Little Tokyo proved false. A Negro upholsterer living in the West Jefferson area voiced an attitude which appeared to be widely held among his people generally:

> "Now, when the Japanese have moved back, it is no better than right that they should get back their places, because this is their home."

He continued:

> "I have a lot of work that I've done for the Japanese. I've got five pieces right here this minute. And Henry S. who has his cleaning shop just a few doors away is doing a fine business. He gets most of the colored trade, and he gives them good service."/1

Owners of property were far from unwilling to see the Japanese return. Apart from inflated rentals, they could anticipate a general brightening of the area. Thus the Nisei proprietor of an appliance shop stated:

> "The owner was anxious to have the Japanese come back because it would mean that the place would be cleaned up and the building kept up better...The owner liked me because of the kind of business I was thinking of opening up, and also because he knew that I had a brother in the Army. Other Japanese put up higher bids on the

From: <hnrc@janmonline.org>
To: <charlane.gross@edaw.com>
Date: 9/22/2006 12:33:32 PM
Subject: Thanks for your inquiry

Thank you for your interest in the Hirasaki National Resource Center at the Japanese American National Museum. Your inquiry will be answered in the order it was received. Due to a high volume of requests, please allow 2 to 4 weeks for our response.

Hirasaki National Resource Center staff

hnrc@janm.org

From: "Jane Nakasako" <jnakasako@janm.org>
To: <Charlane.Gross@edaw.com>
Date: 9/22/2006 4:48:40 PM
Subject: Re. Japanese Strawberry Farmers

Hi Charlane,

I did a quick search of our collection and the following are the most immediate resources we have:

REgenerations : oral history project : rebuilding Japanese American families, communities, and civil rights in the resettlement era: http://content.cdlib.org/dynaxml/servlet/dynaXML?docId=ft600006bb

Japanese legacy : farming and community life in California's Santa Clara Valley - Lukes, Timothy J. | Okihiro, Gary Y. | Lawes, Jane Goodson | De Anza College. California History Center

Have you tried contacting the Japanese American Museum of San Jose? They are at: http://www.jamsj.org/ or the National Japanese American Historical Society (located in San Francisco)?: http://www.njahs.org/

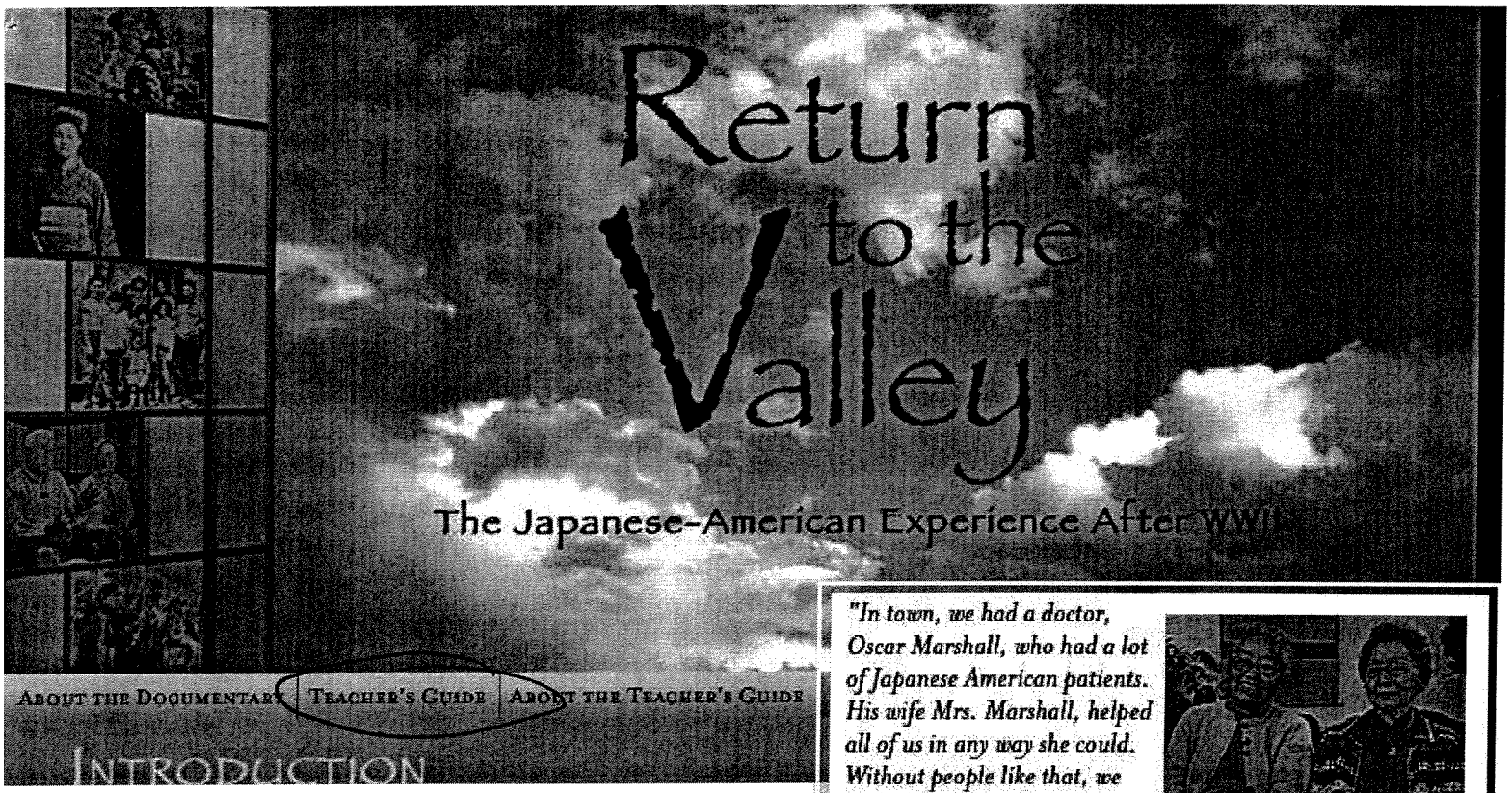
I'm sorry I couldn't be of more help to you. I'm afraid we would need more time in order to fully work on your request.

Sincerely,

Jane Nakasako
Research Assistant, Hirasaki National Resource Center
direct line - 213.830.5605
front desk - 213.830.5680
jnakasako@janm.org

Japanese American National Museum
369 E. First St.
Los Angeles, CA 90012
213.625.0414
800.461.5266

Please visit www.discovernikkei.org
This website provides access to databases, archives, and materials related to the Nikkei - people of Japanese descent who have migrated and settled throughout the world.

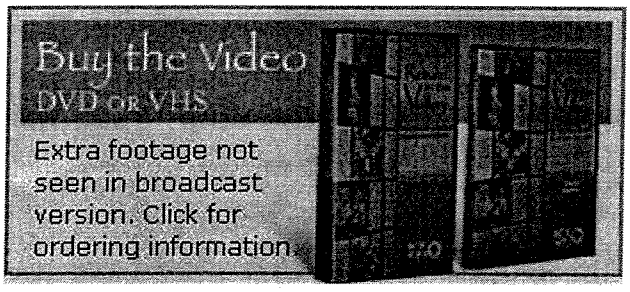


Introduction

"In town, we had a doctor, Oscar Marshall, who had a lot of Japanese American patients. His wife Mrs. Marshall, helped all of us in any way she could. Without people like that, we wouldn't have made it."
Kitako Izumizaki and Helen Nitta Mito, Watsonville, CA

Return to the Valley is a documentary and educational project launched by KTEH in 2003. The documentary that premiered on PBS in June 2003, is a one-hour program about the resettlement experiences of Japanese Americans after World War II. The documentary is set in the Santa Clara, Salinas, and Pajaro Valleys and the Central Coast region--areas once well known for strawberry farming and fishing. The themes of strength, perseverance and the resiliency of the human spirit transcend geography and time in this moving reflective historical documentary.

2004 Northern California Regional Emmy Award Winner for Community Programming



Return to the Valley is told entirely in the words, photos and home movies of the second generation or Nisei. Today, they are all senior citizens, but sixty years ago, they were teenagers or in their

early twenties. It was this generation that shouldered the responsibility to rebuild the Japanese American community, raise their young families, and take care of their aging immigrant parents--the first generation or Issei. In addition, two of the last remaining Issei, a farmer's wife, and a retired strawberry grower, share their memories of life in California.

The on-line teacher's guide and resource list is downloadable at no-cost to teachers, students and researchers through generous grants from our funders.

FUNDING FOR THE RETURN TO THE VALLEY ON-LINE COMPONENT AND DVD AUTHORING WAS PROVIDED BY:

HEWLETT-PACKARD COMPANY

LOCKHEED MARTIN

ADDITIONAL FUNDING PROVIDED BY: CALIFORNIA CIVIL LIBERTIES PUBLIC EDUCATION PROGRAM (CCLPEP)

Comments regarding this documentary should be directed to:
Return to the Valley c/o KTEH Silicon Valley PBS, 1585 Schallenberger Road, San Jose, CA 95131-2434
For technical issues regarding this website, please send an email to rttv@topsoildesign.com

Jap Ban to Force Farm Adjustments

Evacuation of Japanese from California's agricultural areas will necessitate serious adjustments in farming and marketing of fruits and vegetables in this state farm spokesmen said today. Officials of the California Farm Bureau estimated that 40 per cent of all California's vegetables were raised by Japanese, with the percentage of fruit lands under their control running somewhat less.

Some types of agricultural produce are practically dominated by Japanese labor or control.

'Nearly 100 Per Cent'

"Strawberries are nearly 100 per cent under the control of Japanese," one farm authority said. "The work requires the most arduous form of 'stoop labor' and much of it must be done on hands and knees. It is impossible to get any other type of labor than Japanese to stand the pace of the nine-month season."

Japanese plantings in celery, tomatoes, peppers, are important and it is estimated that they likewise are responsible for nearly 75 per cent of the state's acreage in cucumbers, onions and spinach.

While officials of the Farm Bureau point out that white farmers can handle the planting of tomatoes this year, the problem of their harvest later will create a real problem.

Early School Closing?

"It has been proposed to close rural schools earlier this year as a potential source of labor for harvesting tomatoes," one bureau official said.

Other proposals under considerable by farm groups include shutting down relief projects to provide more farm workers, and possible use of Mexican labor.

Lettuce harvests around the Salinas Valley are not expected to be affected where an ample of supply of Filipino labor is available. The valley supplies 90 per cent of the lettuce to the entire country when the flow of "green gold" is at its seasonal peak.

Close watch is also being kept on the possible movement of Italians from the coastal belt, particularly in the artichoke industry which they dominate from Colma to Monterey County. The harvest season is just reaching its peak and will last about another month.

The impending evacuation of Japanese "makes possible a return of the Chinese to the good earth," The Chinese Press, only all-English Chinese paper in America,

said today.

Editor Charles Leong said:

> "A few Chinese remember that their parents labored on farms in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys and all along coastal farm areas. Many owned potato and asparagus ranches. In farm centers like Watsonville and Santa Cruz, Chinese at one time owned all the strawberry business.
>
> "But when the old-timers passed on, it seems that the ranch life, a hard life, did not appeal to the second generation. As a result the Japanese today have a monopoly on an industry when the Chinese could have continued to develop... ."

California faces the major problem with the Japanese on farm lands on the West Coast, the census figures reveal, as they are listed as owning 68 million dollars worth of farm lands here and only an additional two million dollars worth of farm lands in Oregon and Washington combined.

The three major clusterings of Japanese in rural areas are in the Sacramento River delta regions, the lower San Joaquin Valley district and the country around Santa Maria and Santa Barbara.

Within the Bay Area the number of farms owned by Japanese are listed as follows: Alameda County, 130; San Mateo County, 71; Contra Costa County, 70; Marin, 4, and Santa Clara, 390.

The Japanese exodus also will hit the lawns and gardens of thousands of Bay Area residents, particularly those on the Peninsula, for there seems no substitute labor supply to replace the hundreds of Japanese gardeners. Fast and efficient workers, some of the Japanese have been caring for from 40 to 50 gardens each.

The entire problem is being studied closely by officials of the California State Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, and other state and Federal agencies interested in agricultural questions.

'Japtown' Problem

Under study locally was the matter of the eventual clearing out of the Japanese section roughly bounded by Geary, Pine, Octavia and Webster-sts, in which several hundred homes and shops are occupied by Japanese.

The 1940 census listed 5280 Japanese—2004 citizens and 2276 aliens—in San Francisco. The majority of them live in the Japanese section. Some have been interned and many more already have moved inland. But possibly 4000 still are there.

What will become of the homes and shops they eventually will vacate is under

discussion by real estate organizations. No decision has been reached.

SANTA FE, N.M., March 4.—In the wake of reports that "nearly 3000 Japanese" being evacuated from the Pacific Coast would be interned in New Mexico, Governor John E. Miles today announced his state would co-operate fully. He urged strict methods to safeguard New Mexico citizens.

The San Francisco News
March 4, 1942

Go to the Japanese Internment page.

Return to top of page

Summary of information Ellen Dean found out for Santa Clara Gardens EIR on strawberry breeding at BAREC

BAREC was very important for strawberry breeding research between 1929 and 1934 and remained a site for testing new varieties at least until 1960 (Darrow 1966; Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). Between 1929 and 1944, the two main University of California, Berkeley strawberry breeders were Earl B. Goldsmith and Harold E. Thomas. The important strawberry varieties that were developed by Goldsmith and Thomas and released in 1945 are Shasta, Lassen, Sierra, Tahoe, and Donner. In addition, another important variety called Solana was developed by them in 1935 but was released by the strawberry breeders Roy Bringhurst and Victor Voth in 1958 (Darrow 1966). At the time that the strawberry work was done, BAREC was called the University of California "Deciduous Fruit Field Station" or the "San Jose Station (Darrow 1966; Wilhelm and Sagen 1974).

In 1929, Thomas collected strawberry varieties from many sources to test their disease resistance at BAREC. Goldsmith was the foreman of BAREC. On his own time and with his own initiative, Goldsmith made the first hybrid crosses, which were actually unauthorized, but were the result of his curiosity and enthusiasm for strawberries. A larger scale hybridization program was instituted at BAREC in the spring of 1929 by Thomas with over 60 varieties tested, 750 crosses, and 2,000 seedlings (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). However, the land that BAREC was built upon had been used for tomato cultivation at one time. Thomas discovered that the same fungal disease that he was trying to understand in strawberry caused verticillium wilt in tomato. In addition, BAREC was located in the center of the Santa Clara valley strawberry industry. Therefore, BAREC was vulnerable to strawberry pests and strawberry breeding there was difficult. Therefore, by 1934, most of the intensive strawberry breeding work was moved to the Davis and Sacramento area, although BAREC continued to be an area for planting out and testing varieties for disease resistance to verticillium wilt (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). In 1935 Goldsmith became a strawberry breeder under Thomas and was no longer foreman of BAREC (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). Thomas went on to write the guidelines for the Strawberry Plant Certification Program which certifies strawberry plants grown in California (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). Thomas and Goldsmith stopped working for UC in 1945 (Darrow 1966). Roy Bringhurst and Victor Voth replaced them and did important breeding work up until about 1980 (Darrow 1966). Some of the varieties developed by Bringhurst and Voth no doubt involved earlier varieties developed by Thomas and Goldsmith; however the parentage of these varieties could not be confirmed for this report. Bringhurst and Voth used BAREC as one of six stations to test out new varieties at least until the mid 1960s; however most of their breeding work was carried out at Davis (Darrow 1966).

The Shasta and Lassen varieties were chosen from Davis field plots in 1935-1936. These became two of the most valuable strawberries ever developed in California for California growers. The Tahoe, Donner, and Sierra varieties were chosen from plots at Wheatland (north of Sacramento) in 1939. Donner became a popular variety in Japan and was still grown there in 1988; Donner also became a parent in hybrid crosses that have resulted in

new Japanese hybrid strawberry varieties (Oda 1991). Tahoe and Sierra were never very successful (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974; Darrow 1966). Within 10 years after the official 1945 release of these varieties, the worth of the California strawberry crop rose from $2 million to over $30 million annually (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). Solana, which was released in 1958 by Bringhurst and Voth, was an important variety in the 1960s. This variety was initially chosen in 1935 and the location, based on the date, was probably Davis.

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Background Information taken from:

G.M. Darrow. 1966. *The Strawberry: History, Breeding and Physiology.* New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Available at: http://nalusda.gov/pgdic/Strawberry/book/bokten.htm

Main Strawberry Breeders in CA and the varieties they developed (as of 1966, the publication date of the book):

Earl B. Goldsmith (*Fig. 13-13*) was born December 9, 1892, in Santa Cruz, California, and died on March 25, 1954. He went to grammar school but not to high school. When the experiment station at Santa Clara (a suburb of San Jose) was established about 1928, he was a ranch foreman for a prune grower at San Jose, and was hired by Dr. Thomas as foreman of the station for field trials. Darrow had sent many selections to Thomas for trial and on his own initiative Goldsmith began crossing and raising seedling strawberries. He made his first crosses in 1929 and the work was made official as part of the research program in 1930. He continued to look after the breeding of strawberries under Dr. Thomas as research assistant at Santa Clara and later at Davis and Wheatland. In January 1944 he became an employee of E.F. Driscoll, a strawberry grower, and when Dr. Thomas became Director of the Strawberry Institute, Goldsmith became the strawberry breeder of the Institute under Dr. Thomas' direction. He was a rather small man, full of energy, a keen observer and an individualist. He was an idealist and devoted his entire energy to his strawberry work -- to breeding ideal varieties. As each year's seedlings seemed better than those of the year before, he kept on the level of accomplishment never quite reaching his ideal.

Harold E. Thomas (*Fig. 13-35*) was born at Watsonville, California, March 25, 1900. He grew up on a small farm about six miles from the city. After high school he spent one year on the ranch and went to the University of California in 1920, obtaining his M.S. in 1924 and his Ph.D. in 1928 in plant pathology. He became a member of the plant pathology staff in 1927, working on strawberry diseases and continued in the work until he resigned to become director and pathologist of the non-profit Strawberry Institute of California, at Morgan Hill. The Institute, organized by E.F. Driscoll, a far-sighted strawberry grower who cooperated with the University beginning in 1930, was designed to conduct breeding and provide scientific assistance to the growers. In 1945 the University introduced 5 varieties of strawberries resulting from Thomas' and Goldsmith's work -- the Shasta, Lassen, Tahoe, Donner, and Sierra. Of these, Shasta and Lassen became important in the United States. Some Donner and Tahoe were grown in the early 1950's and Donner has now become important in Japan. The Goldsmith (Z5A) was patented and introduced by the Strawberry Institute commercially in 1958 as Z5A and named in 1963. Solana, named in 1957 by the University of California, was selected in 1937 by Thomas and Goldsmith.

In 1934 there were between 3,000 and 4,000 acres of strawberries in California. Just before World War II the strawberry acreage in California was about 5,000, most of which was Marshall (Banner) in central California and Klondike in southern California. By the

end of the war the acreage was down to 900 acres. The five new varieties, introduced in 1945 as a result of Thomas' and Goldsmith's work, were relatively virus-free and were far more vigorous and productive than Marshall. The acreage increased steadily until there were 22,500 acres in 1956, composing 55 percent of the national production, with Shasta and Lassen as the chief varieties. With the passing of years, Shasta and Lassen also became infected with virus and a virus-free nursery program was put into effect. The acreage has stabilized in recent years at about 10,000 acres.

A second organization, Strawberry Institute Nursery, has been set up in recent years for propagation of the highest grade plant stocks for growers. Dr. Thomas is director of this also. Patented varieties originated by the Institute are propagated for members of the Institute only. About twenty million plants are propagated annually.

Shasta (Plate 10-3) was bred by H. Thomas and E. Goldsmith of the University of California at Davis, introduced in 1945. This is the third most grown variety in the United States because of its large, firm, attractive berries and plants which are somewhat tolerant to virus diseases. Shasta fruits all summer on the California Coast. Limitations: it is not high-flavored, and is only fair for freezing. Perhaps as many tons of this are produced as of any variety in the world.

Lassen (Plate 10-6) was bred by H. Thomas and E. Goldsmith of the University of California at Davis, and was introduced in 1945. Because of its short rest period requirement and its high production of large berries along the coast of southern California, it has been grown extensively. Limitations: it is too soft, it is not adapted to freezing and it has only fair flavor; it is being replaced by Torrey, Fresno, and Tioga.

Goldsmith was bred by H. Thomas and E. Goldsmith of the California Strawberry Institute and is privately grown by members of that Institute. It was introduced as Z5A in 1958. It is grown because of its productiveness, especially in the summer and early fall along the California Coast, and its good shipping quality; it has large, firm, glossy, attractive berries of fair quality. Limitations: it has fair flavor only, and is only fair for freezing.

Donner, a variety bred by H.E. Thomas and E.V. Goldsmith of the University of California, was introduced in 1945 for its high flavor. It is not grown in California now, but it is the second most grown variety of Japan. Limitations: it is not so productive in California as Shasta.

Royce S. Bringhurst (*Fig. 13-5*), professor of pomology in charge of the strawberry research of the University of California, was born in Murray, Utah, December 27, 1918; he received his B.S. at Utah State University in 1947; his Ph.D. at the University of Wisconsin in 1950. Since 1953 he has been with the University of California in charge of small fruit research, most of which is concerned with the strawberry. Besides the introduction of the Solana (1958), Fresno (1960), Torrey (1960), Wiltguard (1960), and Tioga (1964), and breeding larger berries for California conditions, he has been interested in the native species, especially *chiloensis* and *ovalis*, and has found natural pentaploid

chiloensis x *vesca* hybrids along the coast of California. He and his associate, Victor Voth, have been especially interested in the response of varieties to planting dates and temperature.

Victor Voth (*Fig. 13-36*), research specialist in pomology of the University of California, in charge of the research on strawberry in southern California, under Dr. Bringhurst, was born at Shafter, California, September 7, 1920. He obtained his B.S. from the University of California at Davis in 1942, and has been in strawberry work since 1946, first at Davis with Baker, next at Torrey Pines in 1952, and later, in 1956, with headquarters at the South Coast Field Station, Santa Ana, south of Los Angeles. Since January 1952 he has been in charge of the strawberry work in southern California, including Santa Barbara County. About half the seedlings raised each year are grown at either Torrey Pines or at the South Coast Field Station and the other half at Winters, near Davis. More than 10,000 seedlings are evaluated annually. His studies have shown Lassen to be the most salt-tolerant and have demonstrated this trait to be heritable. They have proved that the sprinkler system now used by 75 percent of the growers lessens the alkali problem.

Fresno (*Plate 10-10*), bred by R.S. Bringhurst and V. Voth of the California Agricultural Experiment Station, was introduced in 1961. It is a sister of Torrey and Tioga. It possesses low chilling requirement. It is more attractive, larger, firmer, caps easier than Lassen which it is replacing in southern California. Limitations: it is too new to judge.

Torrey (*Plate 10-10*) was bred by R.S. Bringhurst and V. Voth of the California Agricultural Experiment Station, and introduced in 1961. Like Fresno, it is more attractive, larger, firmer, and caps easier than Lassen. It has the lowest chilling requirement of California varieties. Limitations: it is too new to judge.

Tioga was bred by R.S. Bringhurst and V. Voth of the California Agricultural Experiment Station. It was selected in 1955 from about 900 seedlings of the same cross as Fresno and Torrey (Lassen x Cal. 42.8-16) and released in 1964. It is about 10 percent larger than Lassen and larger than Fresno, Shasta, and Torrey. Like Fresno, it is more attractive, much firmer, and caps easier than Lassen. It is more productive than Lassen and wider adapted in coastal California. Limitations: it is too new to judge but considered very promising.

Solana was bred by R.S. Bringhurst and V. Voth of the California Agricultural Experiment Station. It was introduced in 1957 for its high flavor, short rest period requirement, and tolerance to salinity and virus diseases. It is the chief variety in Oxnard and Fresno areas of California. Limitations: it is not a good freezing berry.

History of California Strawberry Breeding:

Strawberry breeding in California presents an interesting case. Intensive breeding work, along with related investigations, is conducted at the California Experiment Stations; more breeding work proceeds at the private grower-supported Strawberry Institute of California and both are closely allied to the strawberry industry of California which in

some places produces the heaviest yields per acre in the world. Much of the material about the Strawberry Institute and the strawberry industry of California is outside the avowed subject of this chapter, but because of the almost symbiotic relationship of industry to experimental work, descriptions of both, as well as descriptions of some of their techniques, are considered pertinent.

Strawberry breeding began at the Davis Station in 1925-1926 and has continued to the present. William T. Howes and A.G. Plakidas initiated the first work. Some selections were made of their crosses in 1927 and W.T. Horne made further crosses that year. He was succeeded by Dr. Harold E. Thomas and Earl V. Goldsmith, 1928-1945, Department of Plant Pathology, Berkeley. After they left the University to establish the Strawberry Institute of California in 1945, Dr. Richard E. Baker, Department of Pomology, Davis, was in charge and was assisted by Victor Voth. Baker resigned in 1953 and was replaced by Dr. Royce S. Bringhurst, who has continued the work in collaboration with Victor Voth from 1953 to the present. In 1952 a temporary branch strawberry research station was established at Torrey Pines, near San Diego in southern California with Victor Voth in charge. The southern California headquarters was moved to the South Coast Field Station of the University of California at Santa Ana in 1956, but work has continued on a reduced scale at Torrey Pines to the present.

The first Thomas-Goldsmith seedlings were fruited in 1930 at the San Jose Station near Santa Clara. The first crosses, made in 1929 by Goldsmith, were actually unauthorized, but were the result of his curiosity when he was foreman of the Deciduous Fruit Field Station of the University of California at San Jose. These were followed by systematically building up the desirable characters toward an ideal type which resulted in the release of the Shasta, Lassen, Sierra, Tahoe, and Donner in 1945. Of these, Lassen (originated in 1936) proved to be best in southern California because of its low chilling requirement, relatively high tolerance to salinity, wide adaptation under a variety of planting systems and high productive capacity. The fruit is mediocre to poor in quality, soft, ships poorly, tends to roughness and is unsatisfactory for freezing. Shasta, originated in 1935, proved to be best in coastal central California because of continuous production under the prevailing conditions, where fruit is harvested from the same plants from April through November. The fruit is good in quality, ships well, and is passable for freezing. Sierra, Tahoe, and Donner failed as varieties in California but Donner is a leading variety in Japan. From the Thomas-Goldsmith selections, Campbell and Cupertino were released by Baker in 1949 and both failed. Solana, which originated in 1935, was released by Bringhurst and Voth in 1958 because of its high dessert quality. Solana is established as the dominant variety in the Oxnard district of Ventura County and around Fresno, replacing Lassen in both areas, and is grown to a limited extent in other areas including the central coast near Watsonville. The fruit is not satisfactory for freezing.

Bringhurst and Voth continued the systematic building of ideal types to improve on the qualities of Shasta and Lassen, and to obtain varieties for special conditions. In addition to Solana, they introduced Fresno, Torrey, and Wiltguard (see p. 159) in 1961 and Tioga (see p. 159) in 1964. Fresno, Torrey, and Tioga were all selected in 1955 and all have the same parentage. Their plant habits and adaptation are similar to those for Lassen. Their

fruit resembles that of Lassen in color and general shape, but they are larger, more attractive, firmer, better flavored, easier to harvest and all of them cap easier than Lassen. Torrey is darker than Fresno or Tioga. Wiltguard, selected in 1954, is resistant to Verticillium wilt and the fruit is particularly high flavored.

Fresno has rapidly become the dominant variety in southern California, replacing Lassen. Torrey has also become established, but to a more limited extent; since it has an even lower chilling requirement than Lassen it performs best at warm winter sites near the sea. Tioga has the greatest potential of the group because of wide general adaptation (including the Shasta area of the central coast), higher yielding ability, and exceptionally firm fruit. Wiltguard is not succeeding.

The success of the new "University" varieties is largely due to the development of planting systems which favor their best performance. Most noteworthy have been the summer planting of cold-stored plants and the use of clear polyethylene bed covers to raise the winter growing temperatures.

The present program conducted by Bringhurst and Voth involves research facilities in every important environment of the state. Detailed performance testing is carried out at the following locations: *Davis*, interior valley; *San Jose,* central coastal valley; *Salinas,* central semicoastal; *Watsonville,* central coastal; *Santa Ana,* south semicoastal; and *Torrey Pines,* south coastal. Most of the crossing is done in the greenhouse at Davis. From eight to fifteen thousand seedlings are fruited each year; about half are grown at Winters (near Davis) and half at Santa Ana or Torrey Pines. Foundation stocks are maintained at Davis, at Winters, and at the Antelope Valley Field Station of the University of California near Lancaster in Los Angeles County. Virus-free stocks are maintained at the latter site.

Computer technology can play an important role in large scale breeding work. This view is supported by various factors, some of which cannot yet be fully realized in terms of their potentialities. First, the computer can be programmed to reduce into a comprehensible form, at minimum cost, the large quantities of data which breeders amass each year. In the California program, field data are summarized, the standard deviations are calculated for the various fruit traits that are measured, and "performance," a value which is weighed heavily by yield but considers appearance, fruit size, and firmness as well, is calculated. Data can be recorded on cards in the field to reduce the cost of obtaining analyzable data. At the end of the harvest season (four to seven months), the values can be obtained for seasonal summarization by machine.

Meaningful genetical studies also are possible. Using the parent-offspring method, heritability values can be calculated for various traits, and correlations between pairs of traits can be determined. Many genetical problems can be subjected to analysis. As an example, in the California program there is interest in a possible negative relationship between Verticillium wilt resistance and desirable performance traits. It has been noted that, with intensive selection for desirable traits, most of the selected clones are susceptible, even though both parents may be resistant. Genes conditioning wilt

resistance may be linked with genes that condition undesirable performance traits. Since the latter are quantitative in nature and the relation among them is probably complex, an appropriate computer program will aid in interpretation. Without the computer, a much less satisfactory evaluation would be possible economically.

It is conceivable, but not presently feasible, to program a computer to scan all possible combinations of heritable characters. However, by weighting some of the important characters according to their occurrence and distribution in the breeding population, effective predictions concerning the outcome of particular breeding programs can be made. This at least would introduce an element of control into breeding projects that has previously been impossible. And, beyond this, realistic estimates of potential progress can thus be made, providing guidelines for further experimentation, saving the waste of much needless investigation.

The Strawberry Institute, a non-profit institution located at Morgan Hill, was organized by E.F. Driscoll in 1944; at that time H.E. Thomas became its director and pathologist, and E.V. Goldsmith, its plant breeder. The Institute was organized to assist the growers belonging to it (Driscoll Strawberry Associates) in solving their disease, insect, variety, and other problems. The Institute has also furnished disease-free stock to their growers. Thomas and Goldsmith continued strawberry breeding along lines they started at the University, raising the same breeding stock-growing seedlings (up to 45,000 in some years) and testing selections. At first the varieties grown by Institute members were Shasta, Lassen, and other standard varieties; now they are mostly varieties originated by the Institute-including Goldsmith (Z5A), a patented variety, and D4, and 5, true everbearers. In 1959 a profit corporation, "Strawberry Institute Nursery," also with H.E. Thomas in charge, was organized to separate the plant propagating work from the strictly service work. Plants are furnished to the Institute members at cost, but sold to non-members at the market price. In 1962 Institute members had about 1,600 acres in production. The Goldsmith variety occupies almost two-thirds of the acreage, and performs best in central coastal sites near the sea. It is unsatisfactory in southern California. Goldsmith is liked for its heavy mid-summer production (later than Shasta), large size, high gloss, and remarkable carrying quality. It is weak in spring production, unsatisfactory for freezing, and is subject to 11 transient yellows." D4 is important in the Oxnard area where it competes with Solana. The everbearers yield well, but do not hold large size as well; one has high flavor.

The development of the California strawberry industry began about 1910 after the Marshall, then called Banner, had been introduced into the Watsonville area near the coast south of San Francisco. Later it was grown in the Sacramento area as the Oregon Plum and in the Fresno area as Marshall. It was the leading variety for thirty years until after the introduction of the Shasta and Lassen in 1945. Nich Ohmer was also grown during the latter part of this period as a shipping variety. In 1918 the Central California Berry Growers' Association was organized and from 1920 to 1947 E.H. Haack was its manager. E.F. Driscoll and Ed Reiter were especially helpful in testing the early selections of the California Station.

In the 1940's before World War II, the California acreage was about 5,000. Marshall (Banner) and Nich Ohmer were the chief varieties in central and northern California and Klondike in southern California. With the removal of the Japanese from the Pacific Coast, during the World War II period, the strawberry industry dwindled to less than 1,000 acres. Yields were low in the prewar years because of the lack of suitable adapted varieties; most planting stock was infected with virus and the Marshall (Banner) variety was particularly sensitive to the prevalent viruses.

A sound basis for expanding commercial production in California was established in 1945 with the release of five varieties by the University of California for commercial use; these were soon reduced to Shasta and Lassen. The new varieties were tolerant of the prevailing viruses and relatively free of virus infection. Their pattern of production in the central coastal area was much more desirable than that of Marshall (Banner). About 40 percent of the fruit is produced in the July to November period on second-year production and no runners are produced by Shasta plants after the first year. The acreage expanded rapidly during the postwar years following the release of the "University" varieties and the return of the Japanese farmers. Improved culture and the expanding market also stimulated the increase in production. By 1956, twenty-two thousand acres were in production and yields of twenty to twenty-five tons per acre were obtained by the best growers, with returns of as much as $10,000 to $12,000 per acre. In 1956, California produced 55 percent of the nation's crop on about 12 percent of the acreage with a value of nearly $45,000,000; this from a total investment by the California Experiment Station of only $72,000 over a fifteen-year period for the five varieties introduced in 1945. Production in California now constitutes about 40 percent of the national total, produced on less than 10 percent of the acreage with a value up to $45,000,000 annually. Southern California produces the early crop and finishes about July 15, when harvest is stopped to prepare the soil for the new plantings. Central California starts in April and continues to November or December.

The greatest concentration of the industry is around Monterey Bay in central California, where about half the total crop is raised. This is due to the effect of the interaction among (1) the relatively low extent of winter chilling, (2) the cool summer growing conditions, and (3) the day length on flower bud formation of certain varieties. Strawberries have a response to chilling or lack of chilling similar to deciduous fruit trees. Under the cool coastal California growing conditions lack of sufficient winter chilling is expressed in the production of flower buds and fruit on many ordinary non-everbearing varieties throughout the longer days of summer. Although the Marshall (Banner) produced some fruit throughout the summer, the Nich Ohmer produced more consistently after July 1 and it is the Nich Ohmer type of response in Shasta, Lassen, and other varieties that has made them so valuable. These varieties have not proved as tolerant to virus as at first supposed, and planting of virus-free stocks has become important in recent years.

Nearly all fields are fumigated with mixtures of chloropicrin and methyl bromide under polyethylene film before planting, at a cost of up to $400.00 per acre. The fumigation essentially solves the replant problem since new plantings on properly fumigated soil respond about like plantings on good soil never planted to strawberries; the cost is more

than offset by the increased yields. Good soils that would be unsatisfactory without fumigation because of previous crop history (tomatoes, etc.), or disease problems (Verticillium wilt, etc.), can be used. In nearly all cases, the plants grow better after fumigation.

In the Los Angeles-Orange Counties where Lassen has been the important variety, annual planting is universal, and fruit is harvested for only one year -- rather for only three to four months out of that year. Plant density ranges from about 24,000 per acre on summer plantings to over 30,000 on some winter plantings. Clear polyethylene bed-covers, machine-laid, shortly after the plants are set, on all winter plantings and about January on summer plantings, are used on almost all plantings. For summer plantings, plants are cold-stored at 28 to 30 F. from the time they are dug in December and January until planted in August. Yields from summer plantings are extremely high, and the fruit quality is good. Winter plantings yield much less but the fruit quality is often better than from summer plantings. In southern California, where only high-valued land is available, growers plant strawberries every year on the same land, fumigating between the plantings. It is convenient to rotate winter plantings with summer plantings in this regard, since there is time to prepare the soil for a summer planting after harvest has been terminated on the previous year's winter planting, but not time to prepare the soil for summer planting after the harvest has been terminated on the previous year's summer planting. It is for this reason primarily that almost half the southern California acreage continues to be winter plantings despite the lower yields and income.

It has been said that the yields in California have declined since the peak year of 1953, and that much of the decline was due to increasing virus problems. Actually, record production of about a ten-ton per acre average for the state was realized in 1962, and that record was broken in 1963 with an average of over twelve tons per acre. Costs in California are $2,000 to $4,000 per acre but returns may be twice or three times that.

The so-called "virus reduction" of yields during the 1950's was at least in part due to a successive series of warm winters, which were particularly damaging to the Shasta variety. The record yields of 1962 and 1963 are due to a combination of cultural factors including: the use of clean planting stock, soil fumigation, control of the cyclamen mite, the use of polyethylene mulch in connection with annual planting in southern California, the adoption of the summer planting system of culture, the use of high elevation plants and the proper timing of winter plantings. In addition, the winters were relatively cold in the central coast area and plants of the Shasta variety received sufficient chilling to invigorate the older plantings.

Virus is a serious problem in the strawberries of California as was recognized nearly forty years ago. Practices to keep nursery stock clean have been used for over thirty years. Isolation of seedlings in breeding has long been used and most nursery stock is propagated in northern California, two hundred miles from the fruiting areas. An extensive indexing and control program is in effect by the State Nursery Service regulatory Department. Freedom from virus of planting stocks is considered the most important means of keeping high production.

Thomas feels that although varieties have been produced that are being used successfully, until perfection is reached, breeders will continue to improve California varieties, for the grower will not cease to want better varieties than he has.

Southern California needs an early high-producing variety with large showy berries that will start in late February or early March and continue to the end of June. At that time most plantings are plowed under, the soil fumigated, and the fields reset in August. The Fresno, Tioga, and Torrey varieties look very promising.

In central California a high-producing sort is needed that starts in mid-April, peaks in May, and continues through June. Then production ceases in the hot interior valley, but along the coast, with its cool climate, production can continue through the summer and fall. The fruit is used for both fresh market and processing, but the fresh market price averages much higher so the best fruit is shipped fresh. The Solana, Lassen, Fresno and Torrey varieties are grown in the hot interior valleys. The Shasta and the Goldsmith varieties are grown along the coast of central California and they produce heavily until late fall frosts and cool weather stop fruit ripening.

In the Central Coast, plantings have been harvested for three or even four years. The cost of harvest increases with the age of the planting, and in general the quality of the fruit decreases. Experimentation by growers following University recommendations, has demonstrated that the profitable life of a planting often does not exceed two harvest years. Summer planting has increased greatly in popularity because of the high first-year production of quality fruit. As new varieties such as Tioga are used with this system, considerable change can be anticipated in the next decade.

The outstanding characteristics of the California varieties are their large average size and their periods of production ---the Southern California fields producing the highest yields in the world and over a period of about four months, the Central California fields nearly as large yields but extended over a period of over six to seven months, with about 40 percent of the crop coming after July 1.

Further notes on BAREC strawberry research

I have tried to trace down more information on early breeding work by trying to find the Annual Reports of the Dept. of Plant Pathology at UC Berkeley that are cited in Wilhelm and Sagen, but they were not given to the library system at any UC and may have been discarded when the plant pathology dept library was dismantled in the early 1990s (this from my friend Lynn Epstein, Plant Pathologist, UC Davis, by email 26 Sept, 2006). She suggested that S. Wilhelm might have taken them either at that time or before that (he was the one who referenced them in the book I used below) and they could be at Driscoll.

I have included here the information from from Tom Sjulin at Driscoll, and I forwarded his email to Charlane and Amanda on Sept 26.

I will let you know if I am able to get anything else useful from Tom Sjulin.

References;

Darrow, G.M. 1966. *The Strawberry: History, Breeding and Physiology.* New York. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Available at:
http://nalusda.gov/pgdic/Strawberry/book/bokten.htm

Wilhelm, S. and Sagen, J. 1974. *A History of the Strawberry.* University of California Division of Agricultural Sciences.

Thomas, H. and Goldsmith, E. 1945. The Shasta, Sierra, Lassen, Tahoe, and Donner Strawberries. California Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 690. UC Berkeley, Berkeley CA.

More History:

According to Darrow (1966), the first Thomas and Goldsmith seedlings [I assume this means results of hybridizations that they did in 1929] were fruited in 1930 at BAREC.

According to Wilhelm and Sagen (1974), the strawberry breeding program moved to Zyanthe, near Olympia, in the Santa Cruz mountains in 1933/1934 due to disease at BAREC. Disease was worse in Zyanthe.

After their discussion of Zyanthe (Olympia) Wilhelm and Sagen state that the lines Cal Z11, Cal 21, Cal 67, Cal 68, Cal 86, Cal 161, Cal 177 were derived from "this period" – I don't know if this means they were chosen in 1934 (or earlier or later). Wilhelm and Sagen do state that Cal 7.20 was selected in 1934 in Zyanthe. I think that Wilhelm and Sagen's dates and locations do not agree with those given in the Thomas and Goldsmith paper. According to Thomas and Goldsmith (1945) Cal 86.6 was the result of a cross made in 1936 in Davis.

The plot in Davis (instituted in 1935) was set only with seeds/seedlings from Thomas and Goldsmith crosses and new stock, due to previous disease (Wilhelm and Sagen 1974). Therefore, they had to begin their crosses again to some extent, as seed does not breed true, just clones of plants.

By the 1940s, the San Jose Station (BAREC) strawberry plots were mainly used for screening new varieties for resistance to verticillium wilt (Wilhelm and Sagen, 1974). I asked Clyde Elmore (see attached contact form) about strawberry planting at BAREC in the 1960s, and he doesn't remember many strawberry fields during that time.

Updated Parentage of Strawberry Varieties and Dates by Ellen Sept 26, 2006

According to Darrow (1966) and Wilhelm and Sagen (1974) the parentage of the Shasta strawberry (Cal 403.8 selected at Davis in 1935/36) was:
Cal 67.5 x Cal 177.21

Cal 67.5 was derived from Nich Ohmer x USDA 634 and was selected at San Jose according to Sjulin.

Cal 177.21 was derived from USDA 534 x Cal 68.24 and was selected in Zyanthe (Sjulin)
Cal 68.24 was derived from USDA 634 x NY 4626 and was selected at San Jose (Sjulin)
NY 4626 was derived from Banner x Howard 17 and was selected in Geneva, New York

According to Wilhelm and Sagen (1974), the hybrid NY 4626 (Banner x Howard 17) was one of the original hybrid lines planted out at BAREC in 1929. However, it could have been planted out elsewhere as well. According to Thomas and Goldsmith (1945), the Shasta cross (67.5 x 177.21) was made in 1935 (in Davis) and selected in 1937.

According to Thomas and Goldsmith (1945), Darrow (1966) and Wilhelm and Sagen (1974) Lassen (Cal 544.2), was the result of crosses made in Davis in 1936 and selected at Davis in 1938). The parentage was: Cal 21.9 x Cal 161.1

Cal 21.9 was derived from Cal Z 9 x Blakemore and probably was selected in 1934 in Zyanthe.
Cal Z9 was derived from Banner x Fendalcino and I don't have the date of the cross but given the number and prefix, it was probably from Zyanthe (does Z stand for Zyanthe?) Sjulin has no info.

Cal 161.1 was derived from Nich Ohmer x Cal 86.6 and was selected at San Jose (Sjulin)
Cal 86.6 was derived from USDA 634 x Cal Z11 and according the Thomas and Goldsmith (1945) selected in 1936 in Davis but according to Sjulin was selected at San Jose.
Cal Z11 was derived from Banner x Fendalcino and probably selected in 1934 in Zyanthe. Sjulin has no info.

According to Wilhelm and Sagen (1974), the hybrid Banner x Fendalcino was one of the original hybrid lines planted out at BAREC in 1929. According to Thomas and Goldsmith 1945, Lassen was the result of crosses made in 1936

According to Darrow (1966), the parentage of Solana was:
Cal 177.19 x Cal 103.22
Cal 177.19 was derived from US-543 x Cal 68.24 and was selected at Zyanthe (Sjulin)
Cal 68.24 derivation is shown above (under Shasta) and was selected at San Jose

Cal 103.22 was derived from Cal A08 x Nich Ohmer and I don't have the date of the cross, but Sjulin says it is from San Jose
Cal A08 was derived from US 253 x F2 of US 253 and I don't have the date or location and it could be from BAREC.

According to Thomas and Goldsmith (1945), Sierra was the result of a cross made at Davis in 1935 and selected in 1937. The parentage of Sierra was:
Nich Ohmer X Cal 177.21
Cal 177.21 was the result of a cross between Cal 68.24 and USDA 543 was made in Zyanthe (Sjulin)
Cal 68.24 is discussed under Shasta and was made in San Jose

According to Thomas and Goldsmith (1945), Tahoe was the result of a cross made in 1936 at Davis and selected in 1938. The parentage of Tahoe was:
Cal 144.21 x Cal 143.32
Cal 144.21 is the result of a cross between Narcissa and Nich Ohmer and was made at Zyanthe (Sjulin)
Cal 143.32 is the result of a cross between Narcissa and Cal. BH-14 and we have no info on date and place
Cal BH-14 is the result of mixed crosses made at an unknown date and place

According to Wilhelm and Sagen (1974) the parentage of Donner (Cal 579.4) can be traced back to Cal 7.20 which was from Zyanthe. According to Thomas and Goldsmith (1945), the cross was made in 1936 in davis and selected in 1938. The parentage was:
Cal 145.52 x Cal 222
Cal 145.52 was the result of a cross between Cal BH-14 (see Tahoe) and Redheart and we have no info on date and place
Cal 222 was the result of a cross between Cal 66.2 and Cal 7.20 and was made at Zyanthe
Cal 66.2 was the result of a cross between USDA 634 and Banner and was made at San Jose
Cal 7.20 was the result of a cross between Blakemore and Nich Ohmer and was made at san Jose according to Sjulin and was made in Zyanthe according to Wilhelm and Sagen.

Also according to Darrow (1966) the later important Bringhurst strawberry varieties Fresno, Tioga and Torrey were derived from crosses with Lassen

From: "Ellen Dean" <eadean@ucdavis.edu>
To: Amanda Olekszulin <Amanda.Olekszulin@edaw.com>, Charlane Gross <Charlane.Gross@edaw.com>
Date: 9/27/2006 7:39:58 AM
Subject: Re: FWD: Origin of Older UC Strawberry selections

Amanda and Charlane, if my corrected report which I sent last night is still too confusing, I am happy to bring the library books, the spreadsheet, and my folder to EDAW tomorrow, when I come for the open house. I have found that the different sources of information conflict in details about where strawberry work was done between 1933 and 1935. However, if Sjulin's spreadsheet is at all correct, the strawberry breeding that began at BAREC was significant, because it produced varieties that were then recrossed to produce lines that were then recrossed and finally selected at Davis and Wheatland. Six important varieties were selected by Thomas and Goldsmith in Davis and Wheatland. These varieties transformed the strawberry industry in Californa. According to Sjulin (and outlined in my revised report), most of these lines have parents that were developed at BAREC. The strawberry breeding that was carried out by Thomas and Goldsmith was the only strawberry breeding that was being done by UC during that time period. It was the beginning of the UC strawberry breeding program which has continued to today and is very famous. Some other private strawberry breeding was being done in California at that time, but no other UC or state funded work. The work that Thomas did at BAREC on discovering verticillium wilt and its affects on tomatoes and strawberries is also very significant.

What I think needs to be weighed is the fact that though significant, the time period of importance was very short and was a very long time ago. The Davis campus has been important in strawberry breeding from 1935 on, whereas BAREC was just used from 1929 and 1933, and some of the work was done at Zyanthe (Olympia) between 1933 and 1934 and the exact dates and location of selection of important parental varieties is somewhat confusing.

Should a place be preserved based on the selection of a few strawberry varieties that themselves were not used by growers, when the work has been supplanted by decades of subsequent work? The six important varieties are no longer widely planted, although they became parents of other significant varieties developed by UC and other breeders around the world.

I hope this puts the strawberry work in perspective - I will see you tomorrow. ellen

> Ellen- Could you overnight copies of the books or reading materials
> that you have used to make your summary? I am still unclear whether we
> have conclusive evidence that the strawberry breeding that occurred at
> BAREC was significant to strawberry farming or typical of other
> strawberry research activities going on the the region. What lines on
> the spreadsheet should I be looking at?
>
> Amanda
>
> P.S. Charlane- Let's coordinate when you get in.

>
> Please note that effective immediately, my e-mail address has changed
> to: amanda.olekszulin@edaw.com
> Please update your address books accordingly.
>
> Amanda Olekszulin
> Senior Project Manager
> EDAW, Inc.
> 2022 J Street
> Sacramento, CA 95814
> (916) 414-5800
> 916-414-5850 (fax)
>
>
> >>> "Ellen Dean" <eadean@ucdavis.edu> 09/26/06 10:24 PM >>>
> Dear Charlane, I sent you my last email last night which had attached
> my
> notes on the pedigrees of the various important strawberries that were
>
> developed by Thomas and Goldsmith. I obviously greatly misunderstood
> how
> the strawberry variety numbers were derived - they are not a straight
> numerical sequence. The three sources of data I have found do not agree
>
> in dates and locations where strawberry crosses were made and selected.
>
> However, I received the forwarded email and attached spreadsheet from a
>
> retired breeder at Driscoll strawberries and if his spreadsheet is
> correct, then many of the pedigrees of the varieties of the 6 important
>
> varieties involve crosses and fruits made at BAREC between 1929 and
> 1933
> or 34. Sorry to not have better news. I think I have done all I can,
> unless this fellow sends me yet more info. Ellen
>
> Charlane,
>
>
> Ellen,
>
> I received your phone message today. Your project sounds
> interesting, and I hope that the following information is helpful. I
> was interested to learn that Thomas & Goldsmith reported their early
> breeding efforts in the annual reports of the UC-Berkeley plant path
> dept. I will check Driscoll's collection of reprints in the next day
> or two to see if they have any of these old reports.
>
> I've attached a pedigree file that I created in Excel that has all
> the publicly-available pedigrees that I've been able to acquire for
> strawberry cultivars. You will find the pedigrees for Cal Z9 & Cal
> A. 08 in this list. I also set up a simple pedigree tracing chart
> using Excel's "vlookup" function that traces back 5 or 6 generations,
> so you can quickly find if the parentage of a cultivar or selection
> is known. Simply type the name into the blue highlighted box & hit
> enter. It is not case sensitive, but you do need to get the spacing

> & punctuation correct.
>
> My pedigree file is not completely annotated, but you will find the
> pedigree of Cal Z9 (and Cal Z11) in Darrow's 1966 book, "The
> Strawberry" (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, N.Y.). I also have some
> handwritten notes from Royce Bringhurst, ca. 1984, that he gave to me
> when I was writing my strawberry pedigree paper with Adam Dale (J.
> Amer. Soc. Hort. Sci. 112(1987):375-385). Royce's notes confirms the
> pedigree of Cal Z9, and also gives the pedigree of Cal A. 08. I do
> not have a record of the year or location that these selections were
> made, or even if these selections were made by Thomas & Goldsmith.
>
> The oldest list of UC strawberry crosses that I've seen is a list
> started in 1930 by Thomas & Goldsmith, and goes until 1943. There is
> a copy of this list in the Driscoll files, and I'd be happy to send
> you a copy if you do not already have a copy. The 1930 cross list
> starts with cross #1 (equivalent to Bringhurst's cross # 30.1), and
> runs through cross #120 (syn. cross #30.120). These crosses were
> fruited at San Jose in 1932. The 1931 crosses (fruited in San Jose
> in 1933) start with cross #129 (syn. cross #31.1), and run through
> cross #176 (syn. cross #31.46). The highest cross number on this
> list is cross #1002, made in 1942 & fruited in 1944, location fruited
> not given. For some unknown reason, the 1943 crosses (planted at
> Wheatland) are listed from #1 to #73, instead of continuing in
> sequence from the previous year. Perhaps it's because this is a
> temporary handwritten list of cross numbers that was not retyped in
> proper sequence until later, after Thomas & Goldsmith had left the UC
> program. Goldsmith left the UC program in 1944 to start his work at
> the Driscoll Associates, and Thomas left the UC in 1945 to head up
> the Strawberry Institute of California, established by the Driscoll
> Associates.
>
> I retired from Driscoll's at the end of April this year, but I still
> do part-time consulting for them. I have been the un-official
> company historian for Driscoll's, so I know where the older documents
> are that Thomas brought from the University. He had an extensive
> collection of experiment station bulletins and reprints, so it's very
> possible that I may find some of the UC-Berkeley plant path dept
> reports. I'll keep you posted.
>
> Regards,
> Tom Sjulin
>
> Ellen Dean
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From: Ellen Dean
To: Charlane.Gross@edaw.com
Date: 9/21/2006 10:17:31 PM
Subject: Re: BAREC

Hi charlane, attached is my strawberry report. I contacted the grass fellow directly, but have not had any reply. I think the strawberry work is more significant, but as you can tell from my report, no significant varieties were actually bred at BAREC (just tested). Ellen

Effective Immediately, email address is changed to Ellen.Dean@edaw.com

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>>> Charlane Gross 09/21/06 2:05 PM >>>
Hi Ellen -

Just checking in to see if you've made any progress. If I didn't mention it before, these guys are in a big, big hurry. I did have a conversation with a former strawberry farmer who said he thought (as you suggested) that berry varieties were developed at Davis, then maybe farmed out to nurseries for propagation (does this sound right to you?) then sent to the various ag stations so they could be test-grown under local conditions.

I assume it won't be difficult for you to confirm this....the ideal thing would be to find some sort of written protocall dating from way back when that lays out the process. Then there should be some sort of summaries of various trial results?

Please run up whatever hours you need to on this. If it will help, I can probably get Angel to head over there to dig through files if you think it's necessary. I'm going to be in LA starting Tuesday next week and so won't be much help.

Charlane

Contact Report:

Ellen Dean was called on October 2, 2006 by Dr. Ali Harivandi, Environmental Horticulture Advisor, Alameda, Contra Costa, and Santa Clara County Cooperative Extension Offices. His number is 510-639-1271. This was a return call from a message Ellen left on his phone Sept. 21, 2006.

Dr. Haravandi confirmed what Ellen had been told by Clyde Elmore. He participated in the National Testgrass Evaluation Program, a program sponsored by the USDA during the 1980s. He evaluated all turfgrass cultivars that were being produced in the U.S. at that time to see what was most appropriate for northern California. The work began in 1980. Part of the work occurred at BAREC and part at the South Coast Experiment Station. The results really changed the types of grasses that are now planted as turf in northern California. Before the trials, the main turfgrass grown was Kentucky bluegrass. After the trials and to the present time, the main turfgrass used in new lawns in subdivisions and other developments is tall fescue. He also popularized hard fescue for non-mowed turf situations.

He says he also worked with Dr. Lin Wu of the Environmental Horticulture Department at UC Davis on developing buffalo grass cultivars in the mid 1980s. This work was breeding work that was carried out at BAREC, UC Davis, and UC Riverside. A paper was published and two cultivars selected that were both patented. I am not sure of the significance of buffalo grass in California (I had never heard of it used here as a turf grass), but it appears to be a bigger deal elsewhere as a turfgrass or ornamental prairie grass.

Contact Report filed by Ellen Dean, EDAW for call made on Nov 1, 2006:

Ellen called Clyde Elmore, Retired UC Davis Weed Science Specialist who researched weeds in ornamentals and turf who worked at BAREC from the 1960s to the time it closed (called at his home in Davis 750-5185)

Clyde says that he and Dr. Haravandi did do mulching studies at BAREC between the late 1970s and on into the 1990s where they tested wood mulch from yard waste for weed control. Others also did yard waste wood mulching studies and he isn't sure who came up with the idea of mulching yard waste rather than burning it. they did this research both at BAREC and the South Coast Research station. Clyde and Dr. Haravandi also did research on leaving lawn clippings on lawns, rather than removing them.

As to the question of whether BAREC was the only research station that focused on horticultural questions, Clyde says that is not true. UC Riverside has a very active Environmental Horticulture program and they do a lot of research on horticultural questions for the home gardener. They use the south coast Research station for their research trials. Clyde says that horticulturalists at UC Davis tried out their experiments at BAREC and the South Coast Research Station, as well as the West Side field station. BAREC was important for experiments, because of its proximity to UC Davis as well as its proximity to urban areas, but it was not the only place that research was done.

Japanese American Ethnicity

THE PERSISTENCE OF COMMUNITY

Stephen S. Fugita

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The second way in which the cultural values found in the ethnic community were important in the development of petit bourgeois enterprises among groups like the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Jews was to supply the social trust necessary to ensure relatively harmonious relationships between different ethnic enterprises that depended on one another in the various phases of the production and distribution process. Wirth (1928), for example, noted that a central element in the survival of Jewish entrepreneurs in Chicago's ghetto was the propensity of Jews to buy and sell from one another. Bonacich (1973) notes a similar process among Jews in the clothing business in New York. Social connectedness was especially important given the small size and risks associated with these types of enterprises.

Among the Japanese growers, packers, shippers, and retailers in the Southern California truck farming market, this social interconnectedness resulted in what Modell (1977) terms a "vertically integrated ethnic economy" (see also Bloom and Riemer, 1949:92–96). Moreover, in many trades, the Japanese were horizontally integrated. For example, ethnic farmers' cooperatives bought supplies at favorable prices, attempted to control labor rates in the local area, and regulated within-group competition (e.g., Ichioka, 1971).

The third, and final, way in which the cultural values of the ethnic community were important in the development of petit bourgeois enterprises was in relationships between ethnic and nonethnic businessmen and consumers. The cultural admonition to protect the honor of one's family and that of the Japanese people became a very important lever Japanese businessmen used to minimize unscrupulous practices by fellow ethnics and to prevent giving Japanese businessmen a bad name. In this way, a positive united front was presented to outsiders. This was especially important when the Japanese were involved in economic conflicts with other groups (e.g., Miyamoto, 1939; Tsuchida, 1978).

Light (1972) has suggested that culturally distinct ethnic groups have an advantage in certain small businesses. This "protected market" thesis points out that only fellow members of the ethnic group can cater to the unique tastes of the group with regard to products such as foodstuffs. While this is certainly true, it cannot explain the overall success of groups such as the Japanese. After all, the economic niche the Japanese most often entered was truck farming, which involved mostly vegetables and berries (e.g., Iwata, 1962). Not only was the produce geared to the tastes of the majority group, but the overall output was of such size as to require sales to the larger society. The Japanese market was much too small. The same was true of their efforts in the fishing business. Even in the restaurant line, most of their operations emphasized low-priced "American" food.

Japanese American Involvement in California Agriculture

Bonacich (1973) and Bonacich and Modell (1980) have correctly pointed out that the full story of the petit bourgeois accommodation of groups like the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Jews must include a consideration of situational factors that make other kinds of economic adaptations less feasible. These factors played a major role in the involvement of the Japanese in California agriculture at the end of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries.

The largest influx of Japanese immigrants to the West Coast occurred from 1900 to 1918. Most of these persons became farm workers (e.g., Iwata, 1962). The proximate reasons for farm owners bringing farm workers from Japan were the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which eliminated a traditional source of cheap labor, and the movement of white laborers into nonagricultural jobs. At this time, labor-intensive agriculture was expanding rapidly because of the development of refrigerated railroad cars, federally subsidized irrigation projects, and new and more effective agricultural marketing organizations (e.g., Fugita and O'Brien, 1978; Fuller, 1940). There also were problems in Japan that encouraged emigration during this period, including considerable political instability and a harsh tax policy that fell particularly hard on the agricultural sector. Thus U.S. farm labor wages, although low compared with other sectors of the American economy, were substantially higher than those in Japan. Moreover, the Japanese laborers saw themselves as "sojourners" merely spending enough time in the New World to accumulate capital and return to their native land (e.g., Bonacich, 1973; Fugita and O'Brien, 1978).

Nevertheless, the movement of individual Japanese laborers into tenant and leasing arrangements, a form of petit bourgeois enterprise, was hastened because the laborers could not achieve upward mobility through other routes. The Japanese were not able to move into management or government bureaucracies because of language difficulties and widespread discrimination (e.g., Hraba, 1979:332). As Bonacich and Modell (1980) point out, in many instances even the second generation Nisei

were forced to work in ethnic enterprises because of discrimination in mainstream occupations. There are, for example, many documented cases of college-educated Nisei unable to find jobs in engineering, teaching, or other vocations for which they had trained. Reluctantly, they went back to the ethnic farm or fruit stand to make a living (e.g., Ichihashi, 1932:356–358).

In addition, the Japanese were largely excluded from the American labor movement. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was blatantly racist. After winning a long and bitter strike in Oxnard in 1903, for example, the Japanese and Mexican workers applied for membership in the AFL, but Samuel Gompers replied to the leadership, "Your union must guarantee that it will under no circumstances accept membership of any Chinese or Japanese" (Foner, 1964). The radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) tried to recruit Asian laborers but lost its effectiveness as a union after the mass arrests during the "red scare" of 1917 (Labor Unions in American Agriculture, 1945:58; Yoneda, 1967, 1971).

Thus, in some respects, the Japanese became participants in an ethnic economy because they had few alternatives. In fact, both Light (1972) and Bonacich and Modell (1980) point out that at least by the time of the second generation's maturity, many Japanese Americans felt resentful about their forced participation in ethnic petit bourgeois activities. Bonacich and Modell describe this situation the following way (1980:85–86):

> The Nisei were highly motivated to obtain a college education, and they hoped, after thus training themselves, to secure white collar positions, particularly in the professions and at managerial levels in general-community concerns. On attempting to gain employment in the non-ethnic world, however, they faced racism and discrimination. Consequently, they were forced back into seeking work in the firms run by their parents and their parents' colleagues. Now, not only were they overeducated for the menial jobs available, but they were forced to remain in unfortunate dependency to the same people upon whom they had always been dependent.

Nevertheless, the critical point in terms of understanding the Japanese American experience is their capacity to exploit successfully the few opportunities to be found in the petit bourgeois sector. Discrimination and other structural constraints, in themselves, do not explain the success of the Japanese or, for that matter, the success of the Chinese or the Jews in these enterprises. As Light (1979) persuasively argues, it is the capacity of these groups to establish and maintain social organizational arrangements based on social trust that permits them to succeed in small business. In Wilson and Portes's (1980) view, groups successful in establishing extensive petit bourgeois enterprises are able to use the concentration of ethnics in "enclaves" to their advantage. By collectively controlling certain industries, these groups can create some of the same monopolistic advantages normally found only in the "center" economy.

During the early part of the twentieth century, the Japanese in California were able to produce just such center economy advantages. They were able to adapt their traditional social organization to the exigencies of American intensive farming. In most farming areas, for example, cooperatives were established, occasionally with the the aid of the Japanese government, to pass on information about new farming techniques, to control labor rates, to purchase implements and supplies from wholesalers at cheaper prices, and to serve as collective marketing mechanisms (Liu, 1976; Yoder, 1936). In addition, the *tanomoshi* sometimes allowed individuals to obtain capital when the banks discriminated against them (Ichioka, 1977; Light, 1972:29).

The extensive network of ascriptive ties in the ethnic community became a very powerful source of both vertical and horizontal integration between individual ethnic entrepreneurs and their families. In agriculture this meant that the Japanese were able to control a large portion of the production of certain vegetables and berries and to set the wages paid to their farm workers. For example, a Japanese farmer would deal with a Japanese haulman who would deal with a Japanese packer-shipper who would deal with a Japanese fruit stand operator. Other examples of horizontal integration were found in the shoe repair, laundry, and gardening businesses. Japanese guilds in these fields not only regulated internal competition among the ethnic entrepreneurs in areas such as rates and territories but also organized collective self-defense efforts (e.g., Modell, 1977:113–120).

Perhaps the most impressive manifestations of the ability of the Japanese community to support ethnic businesses were found in its responses to strikes by farm workers. Although there were some attempts by Japanese farm workers to organize unions, and even historical accounts of a socialist union, the Fresno Domei Kai (Fresno Labor League) (Ichioka, 1971), the ethnic community was largely successful in preventing individual Japanese laborers from participating in these organizations when they

were not otherwise prohibited by racism. For instance, in 1937 the white food clerks union in Los Angeles tried to organize Japanese workers but failed. Subsequently, Japanese-owned stores were blacklisted and picketed by the union (Modell, 1969).

When Japanese farmers hired farm laborers, usually Mexicans, to pick their berries or other crops, the Japanese community was sometimes called upon to back up the farmers in labor disputes. A classic illustration of this occurred in the El Monte Berry Strike of 1933. Japanese American youths were excused from school, and they, along with friends and relatives of the growers, came out to help harvest the crops when the laborers left the fields. Most of the major Japanese organizations, such as the Japanese Associations, the Little Tokyo Businessman's Association, and the local Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) chapters, supported the growers (Fugita and O'Brien, 1978; Hoffman, 1973; Lopez, 1970; Modell, 1977:122–123; O'Brien and Fugita, 1982; Spaulding, 1934; Wollenberg, 1972). A similar ethnic community response occurred in the Venice Celery Strike of 1936 (Tsuchida, 1978). More recently, as we will describe in greater detail in Chapter 9, the ethnic community played a much less unequivocal but nonetheless important role in the lobbying efforts of the Nisei Farmers League (NFL) in the Central Valley of California in the 1970s (Fugita and O'Brien, 1977, 1978; O'Brien and Fugita, 1984).

Numerous writers have noted that the petite bourgeoisie possess values differing in significant ways from those of their fellow citizens who are either working class or grande bourgeoisie. Bechhofer and Elliot (1981:193), for example, observe that there is a very strong association between the "moral economy" of the petit bourgeois experience and what today would be considered "right wing" values, including the following:

> . . . the urge to "roll back the state," to allow market forces not government intervention to shape economic activity; hence the opposition to organized labour depicted by the less sophisticated as preventing the establishment of free contracts between employers and employees, by those with a broader understanding as "necessary," even as "valuable," but now in need of some reform; hence too the distaste for big business and its capacity to squeeze subsidies and concessions from governments. In all this the small businessman becomes a symbol representing, it is claimed, the virtues of an old order to which we must return if our economic fortunes are to mend and our society and polity be restored to health.

Other scholars have found that this penchant for looking backward has resulted in a disproportionately large petit bourgeois support for right wing, even fascist, movements. Examples here include the small shopkeepers' support of Hitler, their rallying behind Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s, and their support of the so-called radical right movement in the early 1960s (Lipset, 1981:143–148). Our own research on the Nisei Farmers League, a contemporary organization started by small, independent Japanese American farmers in California, reveals a similar right-wing outlook (see Chapter 9; Fugita and O'Brien, 1977, 1978; O'Brien and Fugita, 1984).

Nevertheless, the values produced by the petit bourgeois experience, such as hard work, sacrifice, and thrift, also facilitate the upward mobility of subsequent generations (e.g., Bechhofer and Elliot, 1981). Petit bourgeois parents pass these values on to their children partly through role modeling and reinforcement, but more important is the children's participation in the ethnic enterprise itself. Here they directly experience the connection between work and the family unit's economic well-being (Bland et al., 1978).

Benedict (1968) observes that family firms are a rational way to do business in a developing economy, which is where the petit bourgeois niche is most frequently made. The children's experience in this setting provides them with a viable template for success even if, as is usually the case, they choose to pursue careers outside the labor-intensive small shop or truck farming situation. The role relationships and interactional patterns in the family-owned ethnic enterprise encourage trust and a sense of reciprocal obligation between members of the firm, and provide individuals with larger incentives for success. Finally, the capital generated in the business frequently provides a resource the children may use to promote their careers; for example, by paying for college or professional school education.

The mutual support systems found in the network of Japanese American truck farms manifested the kinds of "efficiencies" to which we have just referred. Not only the family but the whole ethnic community played a part in the development of tangible organizational mechanisms as well as the reinforcement of the petit bourgeois values of hard work, trust of family and kinsmen, and the desire for occupational mobility (Light, 1972:62–80).